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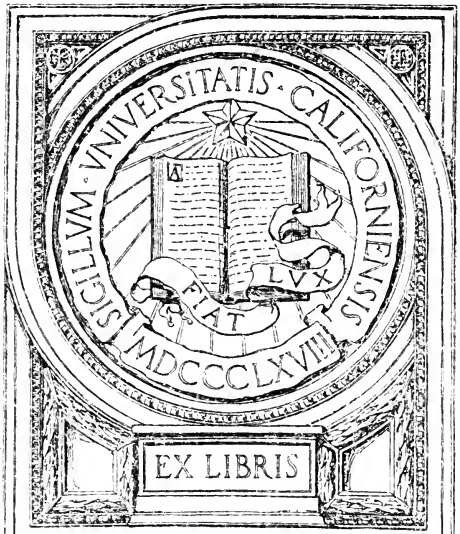

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THE FRENCH "INCHOATIVE" SUFFIX -iss AND THE FRENCH -ir CONJUGATION IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

ZUR

ERLANGUNG DER PHILOSOPHISCHEN DOKTORWÜRDE

DER

HOHEN PHILOSOPHISCHEN FAKULTÄT

DER

RUPRECHT-KARLS-UNIVERSITÄT ZU HEIDELBERG

VORGELEGT VON

JOHN MANNING BOOKER
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Heidelberg 1912.

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TO

MY FATHER

WILLIAM DAVID BOOKER

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Preface.

The material for this work was collected from monuments published before the summer of 1907. The attempt to determine the dialects of the different monuments likewise rests upon publications which appeared before the time mentioned.

The results of this attempt are contained in the bibliography. A word of explanation as to their arrangement is necessary. The Bibliography of English Monuments gives the following information: first, the names of the MSS. in which a monument is preserved and the titles of those editions of the MSS. that have been used in this investigation; secondly, the date and dialect of the original version. The Bibliography of English MSS. gives the dates of the different MSS. and the dialects of their scribes. This information, of course, is only as complete as I could make it; it leaves much to be desired. Its purpose here is to furnish the reader with a means of checking my arrangement of the material according to dialects. Such a check is of the first importance, as the problem handled here has proved to be entirely a dialectical one. It is in accord with the purpose stated that the various dialects proposed for a monument or a MS. are given in detail and the authorities are cited, while the various dates proposed for the same are not so given. To save space, the dates in the bibliography include the proposals of all the authorities in each instance, while the differences — rarely

more than half a century, generally less, and never affecting the issue of the problem treated here — are left unrecorded. This bibliography is an abridgement; the original will appear shortly.[1])

I am happy to close this preface with an acknowledgement of my obligations. From Professors Armstrong, Bloomfield, and Collitz, of the Johns Hopkins University, this work has received many hints and corrections in Chapter I. To Professor R. L. Ramsay of the University of Missouri, it owes a very timely encouragement. The chief debt is due to Professor Bright of John Hopkins, and to Professor Hoops of Heidelberg. Professor Bright suggested the subject of the investigation. Professor Hoops — in addition to his solutions of problems, which are acknowledged where they occur, and his suggestion of methods for testing the results of Chapter III — contributed many most valuable hints in regard to the form and arrangement of the work, and the example of a tireless and self-sacrificing patience in the revision of it.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
December 1911.

John Manning Booker.

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[1]) *A Middle English Bibliography: Dates, Dialects, and Sources of the XII, XIII, and XIV Century Monuments and Manuscripts exclusive of the Works of Wyclif, Gower, and Chaucer and the Documents in the London Dialect.* Heidelberg, Carl Winter 45 cents.

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Le Cumpos de Philipe de Thaun. E. Mall. Strassbg. 1873.

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Reimpredigt. H. Suchier. Bibl. Norm. 1. Halle 1879.

Marie de France. Lais. W. Warnke. Bibl. Norm. 3. Halle 1885.

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Aucassin und Nicolete. H. Suchier. Paris 1881.

Waloon.

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Chronique Rimee de Philippe Mouskes. Reiffenberg. Collection de Chroniques Belges, 1840.

Baudouin et Jean de Conde. A. Scheler. Brussels 1866.

Lotharingian.

La Guerre de Metz. E. de Bouteiller. Paris 1875. Etudes critiques sur le text, p. F. Bonnardot.

Lotharingischer Psalter. F. Apfelstedt. Altfrz. Bibl. 4. Heilbronn 1881.

Lyoner Ysopet. W. Förster. Altfrz. Bibl. 5. Heilbronn 1882.

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Under "MSS." are the names of the 12th, 13th, and 14th c. MSS. that have preserved the monument, and the titles, with the date and place of publication, of those editions of the MSS. used by the author. Abbreviations in heavy type are given for those monuments only that contributed material to this investigation.

Abbey, H. Ghost. Abbey of the Holy Ghost, The.

MSS: **Laud 210** and **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — (*The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*) *Y. W.* I, p. 321.

Adam and Eve. Adam and Eve.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Beilage zur Creatio Mundi. Þe lyff of Adam and Eue. Altengl. Legdn.,* 1878, p. 220.

Adam Davy. Adam Davy's 5 Dreams.

MSS: **Laud 622:** Furnivall, F. — *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II, etc.* E. E. T. S. 69.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1307. London.** Brandl, Paul's Grdr. II, p. 637.

St. Alex. Alexis, St.

MSS: **Ashmole 42** and **Univ. Cbr. Gg V. 31:** Horstmann, C. — *Alexius. Altengl. Legdn.,* 1881, p. 174. **Laud 622:** Furnivall, F. — *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams, etc.* E. E. T. S. 69. **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Zwei Alexiuslieder.* Archiv. 56, p. 391.

Home of Orig.: Version I, MS. *Vernon:* — **E. Midl.:** "Mehr dem nördlichen als dem südlichen Dialekt verwandt", Schipper, J. — *Englische Alexiuslegenden aus dem XIV und XV Jahrhundert.* Hft. I. Strassbg. 1877, p. 64.

Alis. Kyng Alisaunder.

MSS: **Laud I 74** (ll. 4772—5989) and **Lincoln's Inn 150** (ll. 1—4772, 5990—End): Weber, H. — *Metrical Romances.* vol. 1. Edbg. 1810.

Date and Home of Orig.: **14—3/4. S-E. Midl., near Kent:** Kölbing, E. — *Arthur and Merlin.* Altengl. Bibl. IV, pp. LV, CII.

A. and A. Amis and Amiloun.

MSS: **Auchinleck** and **Duke of Sutherland:** Kölbing, E. — *Amis and Amiloun.* Altengl. Bibl. II. Heilbronn 1884.

Home of Orig.: **N-E. Midl.:** Kölbing, p. XXXIII.

A. R. Ancren Riwle, The.

MSS: **Nero A XIV:** Morton, J. — *The Ancren Riwle.* Camden Soc., London 1853.

Home of Orig.: **S. Mercia:** Heuser, W. — *Die Ancren Riwle.* Anglia 30, p. 115.

A. and M. Arthour and Merlin.

MSS: **Auchinleck** and **Lincoln's Inn 150:** Kölbing, E. — *Arthour and Merlin.* Altengl. Bibl. IV. Leipzig 1890.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—3/4.** Version I (A. 1). *Auchinl.*, ll. 1—3132. **S. Midl.:** Kölbing, p. LV.

Assumptio M. Assumptio Mariae.

MSS: **Additional 10036** and **Univ. Cbr. Gg 4. 27. 2:** McKnight, G. — *King Horn, Floris and Blancheflur, The Assumption of Our Lady.* E. E. T. S. 14.

Auchinleck, Schwarz, M. — *Die Assumptio Mariae in der Schweifreimstrophe.* Engl. St. 8, p. 427.

Date and Home of Orig.: Version I. **Additional** and **Univ. Cbr.: Not later than 1250. Border of E. South and E. Midl.:** McKnight, p. LVII.

Athelston. Athelston.

MSS: **Caius Cbr. 175:** Zupitza, J. — *Die Romanze von Athelston.* Parts I and II, Engl. St. 13, p. 331; part III, Engl. St. 14, p. 321.

Date of Orig.: **Ab. 1350.**

Ayenb. Ayenbite of Inwite.

MSS: **Arundel 57:** Morris, R. — *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwit.* E. E. T. S. 23.

Barl. and Jos. Barlaam and Josaphat.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Barlaam & Josaphat. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. 215. **Harleian 4196.** Horstmann, C. — *Barlam & Josaphat. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. 226.

——— Bestiary, A.

MSS: **Arundel 292:** Morris, R. — *An Old English Miscellany: A Bestiary.* E. E. T. S. 49, p. 1.

B. of H. Bevis of Hampton.

MSS: **Auchinleck** (A), **Duke of Sutherland** (S), **Caius Cbr. 175** (E): Kölbing, E. — *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun.* E. E. T. S. XLVI, XLVIII, LXV.

Home of Orig.: **Border of S-E. South and W. South:** Koelbing, E. E. T. S. LXV, p. XXI.

S. Brendan. Brendan, St.

MSS: **Ashmole 43** (A) and **Harleian 2277** (H): Horstmann, C. — *Die altenglische Legende von St. Brendan.* Archiv. 53, p. 17.

Home of Orig.: (Belongs to the Southern collection of Legends SS. Cf. Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.* 1875, p. VI.)

——— Cantus Beati Godrici.

MSS: **Douce 207, Corpus Christi Cbr. 26, Harleian 1620, Laud 413, Nero D 5, Otho B V, Univ. Cbr. Mm. IV 28:** Zupitza, J. — *Cantus Beati Godrici.* Engl. St. 11, p. 401.

Date of Orig.: **Before 1170.**

Home of Orig.: (Concerning the author, an English hermit, cf. Zupitza, p. 415.)

C. of L. Castel of Love.

MSS: **Egerton 927** and **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.: Castel of Love.* E. E. T. S. 98, pp. 355, 407.

Date and Home of Orig.: Version I. **Vernon: 13—2/2. N-E. Midl.:** Hupe, H. — *Robert Grossteste's Chateau d'Amour (Castel of Love).* Anglia 14, p. 418. **South:** In the dialect and perhaps by the author of *The Harrowing of Hell* and *Marina* (MS. Harl. 2253). Horstmann, l. c.

(In the main a close translation. Haase, F. — *Die altenglischen Bearbeitungen von Grossteste's Chateau d'Amour verglichen mit der Quelle.* Anglia 12, p. 372.)

Version II. **Egerton. 14—2/2. Yorkshire, on the border of Lancashire:** Hupe, p. 418. Horstmann, l. c.

(A free reworking of the original. Haase, p. 373.)

——— Cecilie, St.

MSS: **Ashmole 43** and **Cleopatra D. IX:** Lovewell, Bertha E. — *The Life of St. Cecilia.* Yale Studies 3.

Charter, Abbey, H. Ghost. Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost, The.

MSS: **Laud 210** and **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — (*þe Chatre of þe Abbey of þe Holy Gost.*) *Y. W.* I, p. 337.

Chr. of Engl. Chronicle of England, The.

MSS: **Regius 12 CXII:** Ritson, J. — *Ancient English Metrical Romances,* vol. II. London 1802, p. 270.

Date of Orig.: **1307—27.**

——— Compassio Mariae.

MSS: **Bodleian 9995** (Formerly **Tanner 169***): Napier, A. — *Eine mittelenglische Compassio Mariae.* Archiv. 88, p. 182.

Date and Home of Orig.: **12—2/2. N-W. Midl. (Chester):** Napier, p. 188.

Mas. Constitutions of Masonry, The.

MSS: **Regius 17 A I:** Halliwell, J. O. — *The Early History of Freemasonry in England.* London 1844.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1350—1400. South.** Brandl. Paul's Grdr. II, p. 660.

——— Creatione Mundi, De.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Horstmann, C. — *Canticum de Creatione* (*b*). *Altengl. Legdn.,* 1878, p. 139.

Date and Home of Orig.: **14—1/4. N-E. Midl.:** Bachmann, F. — *Die beiden metrischen Versionen des mittelenglischen Canticum de Creatione.* Rostock Diss. Hbg. 1891. Also in the Progr. d. höheren Bürgerschule vor dem Holstenthor zu Hamburg. Hbg. 1891. P. 49.

——— Creed and Paternoster.

MSS: **Arundel 292:** Wright, Th. — *Creed and Paternoster,* &c. *Rel. Ant.* I, p. 234.

Date of Orig.: **Earlier part of 13th.**

——— Cruce Matunitas, De.

MSS: **Caius Cbr. 175:** Heuser, W. — *With an O and an I.* Anglia 27, p. 312.

C. M. Cursor Mundi.

MSS: **Galba E IX.** Morris, R. — *Cursor Mundi.* E. E. T. S. 68: pp. 1437—1455 (ll. 25102—25402); pp. 1527—51 (ll. 27548—28065); pp. 1560—1586 (ll. 28614—29555). **Royal Coll. of Physicians, Edbg.:** Morris, R. — *Cursor Mundi.* E. E. T. S. 68: Appendix I. (1st hand: ll. 18989—22417, 2nd hand: ll. 22418—23944); pp. 1365—1395 (ll. 23945—24359); pp. 1403—1429

(ll. 24520—24968). MSS: **Vespasian A III,** 1st hand: ll. 1—16748: Morris, R. — *Cursor Mundi.* E. E. T. S. 68, 99, Glossary.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—2/2. N. Lincolnshire:** Hupe. E. E. T. S. 101, pp. 124*, 186*.

Dame Siriz. Dame Siriz.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Mätzner, E. — *Dame Siriz. Altengl. Sprachpr.* I, p. 103.

Deb., B. and S. I. Debate between the Body and the Soul. Version I.

MSS: **Bodleian 343** and **Worcester:** Buchholz, R. — *Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam.* Erlanger Beitr. 6.

Date of Orig.: **11/12.**

Deb., B. and S. II a. Debate between the Body and the Soul. Version II a.

MSS: **Auchinleck, Laud 108, Vernon:** Linow, W. — *þe Desputisoun bitwen þe Bodi and þe Soule.* Erlanger Beitr. 1.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—2/2. Midl.:** Linow, p. 19. **Lincoln, Suffolk, Norfolk:** Heesch, G. — *Über Sprache und Versbau des halbsächsischen Gedichts "Debate of the Body and the Soul".* Diss. Kiel 1884, p. 5.

Deb., B. and S. II b. Debate between the Body and the Soul. Version II b.

MSS: **Harleian 2253:** Böddeker, K. — *Dialogus. Streit zwischen Leib und Seele. Altengl. Dichtgn.*, p. 233.

Home of Orig.: **W. Midl.:** Böddeker, p. 235.

——— Degeree, Sir.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Hales, J. W. and Furnivall, F. — *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, vol. 3. London 1867/68, p. 16.

Deb., Mary and Cross. Disputation between Mary and the Cross.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. LII: *Disputation between Mary and the Cross.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 612.

Date and Home of Orig.: **Towards the middle of the 14th. S-W. Midl.:** Thien, H. — *Ueber die englischen Marienklagen.* Diss. Kiel 1906, p. 25.

Double Coming of Chr. Double Coming of Christ, The.

MSS: **Regius 17 B XVII:** Horstmann, C. — (*Of the double Comminge of Christ.*) *Y. W.* II, p. 60.

——— Dux Moraud.

MSS: **Bodleian Additional 30519:** Heuser, W. — *Dux Moraud etc.* Anglia 30, p. 180.

Home of Orig.: (Apparently the Original.)

E. E. Allit. P. Early English Alliterative Poems, The.

MSS: **Nero A X:** Morris, R. — *The Early English Alliterative Poems. The Pearl, Cleanness, Patience.* E. E. T. S. 1.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—4/4. W. Midl.** The dialect of the Pearl was originally a pure West Midland, not too far from the Northern Boundary: Fick, W. — *Zum mittelenglischen Gedicht von der Perle.* Diss. Kiel 1885, p. 7. **W. Midl.,** transcribed in the Dialect in which they were written: Morris, p. IX. **North ('Scotch'):** Madden, Sir F. — *Syr Gawaine.* Bannatyne Club Publn's., p. 301.

E. E. Lives of Sts. Early English Poems and Lives of Saints.

Harleian 2277: Furnivall, F. J. — *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints.* Trans. Phil. Soc. 1858—62.

E. E. Psalter. Early English Psalter, The.

MSS: **Additional 17376** and **Trinity, Dubl. A 4, 4:** Bülbring, K. — *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter*, part I. E. E. T. S. 97.

Home of Orig.: **W. Midl.:** Bülbring, p. IX. Hirst, T. O. — *The Phonology of the London MS. of the Earliest English Prose Psalter.* Diss. Bonn 1907, pp. 78, 79.

E. S-E. Legdy. Early South English Legendary, The.

MSS: **Laud 108:** Horstmann, C. — *The Early South English Legendary.* E. E. T. S. 87.

Home of Orig.: **Gloucestershire:** Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. XLIV. Schmidt, W. — *Über den Stil der Legenden des MS. Laud 108.* Diss. Berlin 1893, p. 87.

Egl. Eglamour, Sir.

MSS: **Duke of Sutherland** (A fragment, containing only the first 160 verses out of a total of 1335): Schleich, G. — *Sir Eglamour.* Palaestra 53.

Date and Home of Orig.: **14—2/2. Border of North and N-W. Midl.:** Zielke, A. — *Untersuchungen zu Sir Eglamour of Artois.* Diss. Kiel 1889, p. 47. **Border of North and Midl.:** Schleich, p. 119.

Epistola. Epistola ad Simplices Sacerdotes.

MSS: **Regius 17 B XVII:** Horstmann, C. — *Epistola ad Simplices Sacerdotes. Y. W.* II, p. 62.

Date and Home of Orig.: (By R. Rolle. Horstmann, p. 62, Note 2.)

Epistle on Mixed Life. Epistle on Mixed Life.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *(Walter Hilton's) Epistle on Mixed Life. Y. W.* I, p. 264.

Est. de l'Evang. Estorie de l'Evangelie.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. I: *La Estorie de l'Evangelie.* E. E. T. S. 98, p. 1.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—2/2. S. East:** Horstmann, C. — *La Estorie de l'Evangelie.* Engl. St. 8, p. 254.

Eufrosyne. Eufrosyne.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Eufrosyne. Altengl. Ledgn.*, 1878, p. 174 (and in Engl. St. 1, p. 300).

———— Eustas, St.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Horstmann, C. — *St. Eustas. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. 211.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1250. South:** Horstmann, p. XLIII.

Evang. Domen. Evangelia Domenicalia.

MSS: **Royal Coll. of Physicians, Edbg.:** Small, J. — *English Metrical Homilies.* (First 13 pieces.) Edbg. 1862.

Evang. Nicod. Evangelium Nicodemi.

MSS: **Galba E IX:** Horstmann, C. — *Zum Evangelium Nicodemi.* Archiv. 57, p. 73. **Harleian 4196:** Horstmann, C. — *Evangelium Nicodemi.* Archiv. 53, p. 389. Hulme, W. H. — *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Evangelium Nicodemi.* E. E. T. S. C, pp. LX—LXX.

Date of Orig.: **Begin'g. of the 14th.**

Evil Times of Edw. II. Evil Times of Edward II, The.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Wright, Th. — *Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II. The Political Songs of England.* Camden Soc. Publ'ns., p. 323.

Date of Orig.: **Begin'g. of Edw. III's reign. (1327—77).**

Fer. Ferumbras, Sir.

MSS: **Ashmole 33:** Herrtage, S. J. — *Sir Ferumbras.* E. E. T. S. XXXIV.

(Transl'd. directly from the French. Reichel, C. — *Die mittelenglische Romanze Sir Fyrumbras und ihr Verhältnis zum altfranzösischen und provenzalischen Fierbras.* Diss. Breslau 1892, p. 36.)

——— Five Joys of the Virgin, The.

MSS: **Jesus Oxf. 29:** Morris, R. — *An Old English Miscellany*, No. VI: *The Five Joys of the Virgin.* E. E. T. S. 49, p. 87. **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* I, No. IX: *Þe fyve Joyes of ur Lady.* E. E. T. S. 98, p. 25.

The Flood. Flood of the World, The.

MSS: **Regius 17 B XVII:** Horstmann, C. — *Of Þo flode of Þo world. Y. W.* II, p. 67.

Fl. and Bl. Floris and Blanchefleur.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Laing, D. — *A Penniworth of Witte, Florice and Blaunchefloure: etc.* Abbotsford Club Publ'ns. Edbg. 1857. **University Cbr. Gg IV 27, 2** and **Vitellius D III:** McKnight, G. H. — *King Horn, Floriz and Blanchefleur, the Assumption of our Lady.* E. E. T. S. 14.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1250. S-E. Midl:** Hausknecht, E. — *Floris and Blauncheflour.* Smmlg. Engl. Denkmäler in Krit. Ausgaben. Berlin 1885, p. 129. McKnight (Versions of MSS. **Cbr.** and **Vitel.**), p. XLI.

Forma Confitendi. Forma Confitendi.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Forma Confitendi. Y. W.* II, p. 340.

Dial. of Orig.: **North.** Horstmann, p. 340. Cf. M. Konrath's Critique on Horstmann. Archiv. 99, p. 165.

——— Fortune.

MSS: **Laud 108:** Wright, Th. — *Alliterative Poem on Fortune. Rel. Ant.* II, p. 7.

Date of Orig.: ("From MS. Laud 108, fol. 237, in the Bodleian Library, written **early in the fifteenth century.**" Wright, l. c.)

——— Fox and the Wolf, The.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Wright, Th. — *The Fox and the Wolf. Rel. Ant.* II, p. 272.

Gaw. Gawain, Sir.

MSS: **Nero A X:** Morris, R. — *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight.* E. E. T. S. 4.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1360—1377. W. Midl.:** Morris, R. — *Early English Alliterative Poems.* E. E. T. S. 1. **North:** Madden, Sir F. — *Syr Gawayne.* Bannatyne Club Publ'ns., p. 301.

Gen. and Ex. Genesis and Exodus.

MSS: **Corpus Christi Cbr. XLIV:** Morris, R. — *The Story of Genesis and Exodus.* E. E. T. S. 7, Glossary.

Date of Orig.: **c. 1250.**

Greg. Gregorius.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Schulze, F. — *Die englische Gregorlegende nach dem Auchinleck MS.* Diss. Königsberg 1876. **Cleopatra D IX:** Horstmann, C. — *Gregorius auf dem Steine.* Archiv. 57, p. 58. **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Gregorius auf dem Steine.* Archiv. 55, p. 407.

Date and Home of Orig.: **Before 1250. Auchinleck:** "Die Heimat dieses Kunststils scheint der **Osten des Mittellandes** zu sein." Horstmann, *Altengl. Ledgn.*, 1881, p. XLIII. **Vernon:** Belongs to a dialect **bordering on the North.** Horstmann, Archiv. 55, p. 407.

G. of W. Guy of Warwick.

MSS: **Additional 14408:** Turnbull, W. B. D. — *The Romances of Sir Guy of Warwick and Rembrun his Son.* Abbotsford Club Publ'ns. 1840. Introd'n., p. XXVIII. **Auchinleck:** Zupitza, J. — *The Romance of Guy of Warwick.* E. E. T. S. XLII, XLIX, LIX. **Sloane:** Zupitza, J. — *Zur Litteraturgeschichte des Guy von Warwick.* Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Classe LXXIV, p. 623.

(Translated directly. "Improvements" were added by the scribes. These latter were not taken from French MSS. Weyrauch, M. — *Die mittelenglischen Fassungen der Sage von Guy of Warwick und ihre altfranzösische Vorlage.* Diss. Breslau 1899, p. 42.

H. M. Hali Meidenhad.

MSS: **Titus D XVIII:** Cockayne, O. — *Hali Meidenhad.* E. E. T. S. 18.

H. H. Harrowing of Hell, The.

MSS: **Auchinleck, Digby 86, Harleian 2253:** Mall, E. — *The Harrowing of Hell.* Breslau 1871.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—1/2. E. Midl.:** Mall, p. 19.

Hav. Havelok.

MSS. **Laud 108:** Skeat, W. W. — *The Lay of Havelok the Dane.* Oxf. 1902, Glossary.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1296—1303. N. Lincolnshire:** The intermediate text first removed from the Engl. Orig. is **Northern;** the text next removed is **Midland,** to the South and West of the Original. Schmidt, F. — *Zur Heimatbestimmung des Havelok.* Diss. Göttgn. 1900, pp. 81, 82. **S. Lincolnshire:** The intermediate text first removed from the Engl. Orig. is **Northern;** the text next removed is **Southern:** Holthausen, F. — *Havelok.* Old and Middle English Texts. London 1901, p. X. **Norfolk:** Hupe, H. — *Havelokstudien.* Anglia 13, p. 193. **Grimsby, Lincolnsh:** Ludorff, F. — *Über die Sprache des alt-*

englischen Lay Havelok the Dane. Giessen Diss. Münster 1873, p. 5. **Lincolnshire:** Skeat, p. XXVII.

K. Horn. King Horn.

MSS: **Harleian 2253, Laud 108, University Cbr. Gg IV 27, 2:** Hall, J. — *King Horn.* Oxf. 1901. *"The Romance Element"*, p. XXIX.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—2/2. Essex:** Wissmann, T. — King Horn. Q. u. F. 16, p. 33. **N-W. Surrey:** Hall, p. XLIV.

Horn Ch. Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Caro, J. — *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild.* Engl. St. 12, p. 323.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1290—1325. S. North:** Caro, p. 343.

Induct'n. to Good Life. Induction to Good Life, An.

MSS: **Regius 17 B XVII:** Horstmann, C. — (*Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, World, Man, Sin, Grace, Virtue, Good Works, God's Mercy, God's Justice.*) *Y. W.* II, p. 36.

Date and Home of Orig.: (By R. Rolle. Horstmann, l. c.)

Inform. Alr. Informacio Alredi.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Informacio Alredi Abbatis Monasterij de Rieualle ad Sororem suam Inclusam: Translata de Latino in Anglicum per Thomam N.* Engl. St. 7, p. 304.

Ipom. Ipomedon.

MSS: **Marquis of Bath:** Kölbing, E. — *Ipomedon.* Breslau 1889.

Date and Home of Orig.: **End of the 13th.** Means of determining the Home of the Original "are lacking". Koelbing, p. CLXXVIII.

Ipotis. Ipotis.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Ipotis. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. 341.

Date and Home of Orig.: **S-E. Midl. — border of E. Midl. and E. South.** Gruber, H. — *Beiträge zu dem mittelenglischen Dialoge "Ipotis".* Anglia 18, pp. 58, 59.

Josephlied. Josephlied.

MSS: **Bodleian 652:** Heuser, W. — *Das frühmittelenglische Josephlied.* Bonner Beitr. 17, p. 83.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13th. South:** Heuser, p. 104.

Jos. of Arim. Joseph of Arimathea.

MSS: **Vernon:** Skeat, W. W. — *Joseph of Arimatheé.* E. E. T. S. 44.

Home of Orig.: **W. Midl.:** Skeat, p. XI.

S. Jul. I. Juliana (I), St.

MSS: **Bodleian 34** and **Regius 17 A XXVII:** Cockayne, O. — *Þe Liflade of St. Juliana.* E. E. T. S. 51.

Home of Orig.: **Mercia:** Stodte, H. — *Über die Sprache und Heimat der Katherine Gruppe.* Diss. Göttgn. 1896, p. 78.

S. Jul. II. Juliana (II), St.

MSS: **Ashmole 43:** Cockayne, O. — *Þe Liflade of St. Juliana.* E. E. T. S. 51, p. 81.

Home of Orig.: (Belongs to the Southern Collect'n. of Legends SS. in MS. *Ashmole 43.* Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. VIII.)

S. Kat. (Auch.) Katerine, St. (MS. Auchinleck).

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Horstmann, C. — *Seynt Katerine. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. 242.

Home of Orig.: "Die Heimat dieses Kunststils scheint **der Osten des Mittellandes** zu sein." Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. XLIII.

S. Kat. (Caius). Katerine, St. (MS. Caius).

Caius Cbr. 175: Horstmann, C. — *Seynt Katerine. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. 242.

Home of Orig.: "Die Heimat dieses Kunststils scheint **der Osten des Mittellandes** zu sein." Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. XLIII.

S. Kath. (I). Katherine (I), St.

MSS: **Bodleian 34,** (NE. A. 3, 11), **Regius 17 A XXVII, Titus D XVIII:** Einenkel, E. — *The Life of St. Katherine.* E. E. T. S. 80, Glossary.

Home of Orig.: **Mercia:** Stodte, H. — *Über die Sprache und Heimat der "Katherine-Gruppe".* Diss. Göttgn. 1896, p. 78.

"Kent. Hom. I." "Kentish Homilies I."

MSS: **Vespasian A 22:** Morris, R. — *Old English Homilies and Homilitic Treatises,* Nos. XXIV—XXVII (= 'Old English Homilies I^2'). E. E. T. S. 34.

„Kent. Hom. II." "Kentish Homilies II".

MSS: **Trinity Cbr. B 14, 52:** Morris, R. — *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century* (='Old English Homilies II'). E. E. T. S. 53.

Date and Home of Orig.: **Before 1200. W. Saxon:** Morris, p. X.

Kildare Ged. Kildare Gedichte, Die.

MSS: **Harleian 913:** Heuser, W. — *Die Kildare-Gedichte.* Bonner Beitr. 14.

Home of Orig.: (The dialect is that of emigrants from the Saxon South to S. West Ireland. "Reim und Schreibung einheitlich . . . direkt Originale oder Kopien, die dem Originale gleichwertig sind." Heuser, pp. 54, 55.)

Kindh. Jesu (Harl.). Kindheit Jesu (MS. Harleian).
MSS: **Harleian 3954:** Horstmann, C. — *Kindheit Jesu. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1878, p. 101.

Kindh. Jesu (Laud). Kindheit Jesu (MS. Laud).
MSS: **Laud 108:** Horstmann, C. — *Kindheit Jesu. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. 3.

K. of Tars. King of Tars, The.
MSS: **Auchinleck** and **Vernon:** Krause, F. — *The King of Tars.* Engl. St. 11, p. 1.

Lag. Lazamon's "Brut".
MSS: **Caligula A IX, Otho C XIII.** Madden, Sir F. — *Lazamon's Brut.* London 1847, glossary.
Date and Dial. of Orig.: **1205. N. Worcestershire:** Many points in common with the S. West. Lühmann, A. — *Die Überlieferung von Lazamon's Brut.* Stud. z. Engl. Phil. 22, p. 194.

Lam. Mar. Lamentatio Mariae.
MSS: **Rawlinson 175:** Fröhlich, W. — *Die Lamentacione sancte Marie.* Leipzig Diss. Halle 1902. **Tiberius E VII:** Horstmann, C. — *S. Mary's lamentation to S. Bernhard on the passion of Christ. Y. W.* II, p. 274. **University Cbr. Dd I 1:** Kribel, H. — *Lamentatio St. Bernhardi de Compassione Mariae.* Engl. St. 8, p. 67. **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* I, No. XXXVI: *þe Lamentacioun þat was bytwene ure lady and seynt Bernard.* E. E. T. S. 98, p. 297.
Date and Home of Orig.: **14—2/4. Northern England:** Fröhlich, p. 54. **W. Midl.:** Kribel, p. 83.

L. F. M. B. Lay Folk's Mass Book, The.
MSS: **Regius 17 B XVII:** Simmons, Th. Fred. — *The Lay Folk's Mass Book.* E. E. T. S. 71.
Date and Home of Orig.: **Close of 13th.** Translated from a French mass book by Dan Jeremy, a canon of Rouen into a **Northern** dialect: Simmons, pp. XL, XLII, XLIII, LXI.

Lay le Freine. Lay le Freine.
MSS: **Auchinleck:** Vernhagen, H. — '*Lay le Freine*'. Anglia 3, p. 415.
Home of Orig.: "Der Originaldialekt lässt sich nicht bestimmen": Vernhagen, l. c.

——— Lob der Frauen.
MSS: **Auchinleck:** Kölbing, E. — *Lob der Frauen.* Engl. St. 7, p. 101.

Luytel Caton. Luytel Caton.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* II, No. L: *Her be-ginneþ luytel Caton.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 553.

S. Magd. Magdalena, St.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Horstmann, C. — *Magdalena* (b). *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1878, p. 163.

———— Margaret (I), St.

MSS: **Bodleian 34, Regius 17 A XXVII.** Cockayne, O. — *Seinte Marherete.* E. E. T. S. 13.

Date of Orig.: **1160—1200.**

S. Marg. (II). Margaret (II), St.

MSS: **Harleian 2277.** Cockayne, O. — *Seinte Marharete.* E. E. T. S. 13.

Date and Home of Orig.: **About 1330.** Dialect "nicht zu entscheiden": Krahl, E. — *Untersuchungen über vier Versionen der mittelengl. Margaretenlegende.* Diss. Berlin 1889, p. 85.

S. Marg. (III). Margaret (III), St.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Horstmann, C. — *Seynt Mergrete. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. 225. **Trinity Cbr.** (Now lost. Printed in Hicke's *Thesaurus.*): Cockayne, O. — *Seinte Marherete.* E. E. T. S. 13.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1200—1270.** "Die Heimat dieses Kunststils scheint **der Osten des Mittellandes** zu sein": Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. XLIII. **E. Midl.:** Krahl, E. — *Untersuchungen über vier Versionen der mittelengl. Margaretenlegende.* Diss. Berlin 1889, pp. 53 and 76.

Marienlegende. Marienlegende.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Horstmann, C. — *Marienlegende. Altengl. Legdn.* 1881, p. 499.

Home of Orig.: (Scheint der mittelländischen Smmlg. von Marienlegenden angehört zu haben": Horstmann, l. c.)

Marina. Marina.

MSS: **Harleian 2253:** Böddeker, K. — *Marina. Altengl. Dichtgn.*, p. 254.

Mary's Miracles. Mary's Miracles.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* I, No. XXIX: *Miracles of our Lady.* E. E. T. S. 98, p. 138.

Home of Orig.: **North:** Horstmann, C. — *Altenglische Marienlegenden aus MS. Vernon.* Archiv. 56, p. 223.

The Mass. Mass, The.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* II, No. XLVIII: *How to hear Mass.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 493.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1375. North:** Simmons, Th. Fred. — *The Lay Folks Mass Book.* E. E. T. S. 71, p. XLIII.

Matre et Pueris. Matre et Pueris, De.

MSS: **Marquis of Bath:** Horstmann, C. — *De Matre et VII Pueris.* Archiv. 79, p. 447.

——— Maximian.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Vernhagen, H. — *Zu dem Klageliede Maximians.* Anglia 3, p. 275. **Harleian 2253:** Böddeker, K. — *Miximion. Altengl. Dichtgn.*, p. 244.

Home of Orig.: **W. Midl.:** Vernhagen, p. 277. **Midl.:** Böddeker, p. 245.

——— Middle Kentish Gospels.

MSS: **Hatton 38** and **Regius I A XIV:** Skeat, W. W. — *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions, etc.* Camb. 1871—87.

Date and Home of Orig.: MS. **Hatton** is a copy of MS. **Regius** (Skeat, W. W. — *The Gospel according to Saint Luke.* Cbr., 1874, p. X), which is a copy of MS. **Bodleian 441.** MS. **Bodlian** was written in the **10th** century, in either the **W. Saxon** (Skeat, W. W. — *The Gospel according to Saint Luke, etc.*, p. V) or the **Midl.** dialect. (Heuser, W. — *Zum Kent. Dialect im Mittelenglischen.* Anglia 17, p. 88.)

M. P. Minor Poems.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* E. E. T. S. 98 and 117. Nos. II—VIII, X—XX, XXII—XXVIII, XXXI, XXXII, XXXV, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLI—XLVII, XLIX, LIV, LV.

Minot. Minot's Songs.

MSS: **Galba E IX:** Hall, Jos. — *The Poems of Lawrence Minot.* Oxf. 1887.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1339—52. Marches of North and N-E. Midl.** Scholle, W. — *Lawrence Minot's Lieder.* Q. u. F. 52, p. XXVII.

Mirror of S. Edm. Mirror of S. Edmund, The.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Speculum S. Edmundi, translated.* Horstmann, *Y. W.* I, p. 240.

Home of Orig.: **North:** Horstmann, *Y. W.* I, p. 219.

——— Moral Poem, A.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Kölbing, E. — *Die Feinde des Menschen.* Engl. St. 9, p. 440.

Home of Orig.: ("Streng nordenglischer Dialekt." Kölbing, p. 441.)

Nordengl. Legdn. Nordenglische Legendensammlung, Die.

MSS: **Harleian 4196** and **Tiberius E VII:** Horstmann, C. — *Die Nordenglische Legendensammlung. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. 3.

O. E. H. (Lamb.). Old English Homilies (MS. Lambeth).

MSS: **Lambeth 487:** Morris, R. — *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises* (= 'Old English Homilies I^{1} and 2^{2}'), Nos. I—V, VII—XVII. E. E. T. S. 29 and 34.

Home of Orig.: Many characteristics that point to the **Saxon West:** Cohn, O. — *Die Sprache in der mittelenglischen Predigtsammlung der HS. Lambeth 487.* Diss. Berl. 1880, p. 82.

O. E. H. (Nero). Old English Homilies (MS. Nero).

MSS: **Nero A XIV:** Morris, R. — *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises* (= 'Old English Homilies I^{1}'), Nos. XIX—XXIII. E. E. T. S. 34.

———— Old English Miscellany (MS. Caligula), An.

MSS: **Caligula A IX:** Morris, R. — *An old English Miscellany*, Nos. XX—XXV (Text I), XXVI. E. E. T. S. 49.

Date of Orig.: Shortly before **1250.**

———— Old English Miscellany (MS. Egerton), An.

MSS: **Egerton 613:** Morris, R. — *An Old English Miscellany*, Nos. XXVIII, XXIX, XXX. E. E. T. S. 49.

O. E. M. Old English Miscellany, An.

MSS: **Jesus Oxf. 29:** Morris, R. — *An Old English Miscellany*, Nos. 1—V, VII—XIV, XV (Text I), XVI—XVIII, XX—XXV (Text II). E. E. T. S. 49.

Date of Orig.: Shortly before **1250.**

———— Old English Song, An.

MSS: **Arundel 292:** Wright, Th. — *An Old English Song. Rel. Ant.* I, p. 291.

Date of Orig.: **1307—27.**

Kent. Serm. Old Kentish Sermons.

MSS: **Laud 471:** Morris, R. — *An Old English Miscellany: Old Kentish Sermons.* E. E. T. S. 49, p. 26.

Date and Dial. of Orig.: **End of 13th.** (Cf. MS. *Laud 471.*) **Kent:** Morris, p. VIII.

Orf. Orfeo, Sir.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Zielke, O. — *Sir Orfeo.* Diss. Breslau 1880.

Date and Dial. of Orig.: **13/14. South or S. Midl.:** Zielke, pp. 54, 55.

Orm. Ormulum, The.

MSS: **Bodleian Junius I:** White, R. M. — *The Ormulum*, reedited by R. Holt. Oxf. 1878, Glossary.

Home of Orig.: (Orm's own hand. Cf. Holt, p. LIX ff.)

Otuel. Otuel.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Herrtage, S. J. — *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear with the Fragments of Roland and Vernagu and Otuel.* E. E. T. S. XXXIX.

Dial. of Orig.: **N-E. Midl.:** Wächter, W. — *Untersuchungen über die beiden mittelenglischen Gedichte "Roland and Vernagu" und "Otuel".* Diss. Berlin 1885, p. 33.

Our Leuedi Sauter. Our Leuedi Sauter.

MSS: **Auchinleck** and **Digby 86.** Horstmann, C. — *Coment le Sauter noustre dame fu primes cuntrouve. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. 220.

Date and Home of Orig.: **Before 1250. South:** Horstmann, p. XLIII.

O. and N. Owl and the Nightengale, The.

MSS: **Caligula A IX** and **Jesus Oxf. 29.** Wells, J. E. — *The Owl and the Nightengale.* Belles-Lettres Series. Boston 1907.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1199—1230.** Portisham in **Dorset.** Gadow, W. — *Neuausgabe des mittelenglischen Streitgedichtes Eule und Nachtigall.* Teil I. Diss. Berlin 1907, p. 11. "Die Sprache aus der spätwestsächsischen Schriftsprache hervorgegangen." Gadow, p. 53.

Pater Noster. Pater Noster (MS. Auchinleck).

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Kölbing, E. — *Das Vaterunser.* Engl. St. 9, p. 47.

———— Pater Noster (MS. Lambeth).

MSS: **Lambeth 487:** Morris, R. — *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises* I[1], No. VI: *Pater Noster.* E. E. T. S. 29.

Home of Orig.: Midl.: Cohn, O. — *Die Sprache in der mittelenglischen Predigtsammlung der HS. Lambeth 487.* Diss. Berl. 1880, p. 81.

Pennyworth of Wit. Pennyworth of Wit, A.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Kölbing, E. — *A peniworþ of Witte.* Engl. St. 7, p. 111.

SS. Peter and Paul. Peter and Paul, SS.

MSS: **Ashmole 42:** Horstmann, C. — *Sermo in Festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. 77.

Home of Orig.: (Added to the North Engl. Collection of Legends SS. in *MS. Ashmole 42.* Horstmann, pp. LIX, LXV.)

———— Peterborough Chronicle, The.

MSS: **Bodleian Laud 636:** Thorpe, B. — *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* R. B. S. XXIII.

Date of Orig.: **1154.**

P. P., A. Piers Plowman, Version A.

MSS: **Vernon** and **Harleian 875.** Skeat, W. W. — *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman.* 2 vols. Oxf. 1886.

Date of Orig.: **1362.**

P. P., B. Piers Plowman, Vers. B.

MSS: **Laud 581, Trinity Cbr. B 15, 17, University Cbr. Dd I 17.** Skeat, W. W. — *The Vision etc.*

Date of Orig.: **1377.**

P. P., C. Piers Plowman, Vers. C.

MSS: **Corpus Chris. Cbr. 293, Phillipps 8231, Vespasian B 16.** Skeat, W. W. — *The Vision etc.*

Date of Orig.: **1393—99.**

Home of Orig.: **E. Midl.:** mixed with other dialects, especially with that of the W. Midl. Kron, R. — *William Langley's Buch von Peter dem Pflüger.* Diss. Göttgn. 1885, p. 63. **Midl.:** Skeat, vol. 2. p. LVII. (The language of MS. *Laud 581* most nearly represents the language of the poet. Skeat, W. W. — *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman.* E. E. T. S. 38, pp. XLI, XLII. Kron, pp. 13, 27, 28, 53.) According to Kron, p. 59, The language of MS. *Laud 581* is W. Midland.) **W. Midl.:** Bernard, E. — *Grammatical Treatise on the Language of William Langland.* Diss. Bonn 1874, p. 18.

——— Pistel of Sweet Susan.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. LIII: *Susannah, or Seemly Susan.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 626.

Date and Home of Orig.: **14—2/2. North:** Horstmann, C. — *Die Legenden von Celestin and Susanna II: Susanna.* Anglia I, p. 85; Brade, G. — *Über Huchown's Pistil of Swete Susan.* Breslau Diss. Trebnitz in Schles. 1892, p. 21; Harrison, T. P. — *A Study of the Middle English Poem*, The Pystal of Susan; *etc.* Reported in the Publ'ns. of the Mod. Lang. Assn. of America, vol. 8, p. LXI.

Poema Morale. Poema Morale.

MSS: **Digby A 4:** Zupitza, J. — *Zum Poema Morale.* Anglia 1, p. 5. **Lambeth 487** and **Trinity Cbr. B 14, 52:** Lewin, H. — *Das mittelenglische Poema Morale.* Halle 1881.

Date of Orig.: **12th.**

——— Poem on Blood Letting, A.

MSS: **Loscombe** Wright, Th. — *A Poem on Blood-letting. Rel. Ant.* I, p. 189.

Date of Orig.: **End of 14th.**

Virtues of Herbs. Poem on the Virtues of Herbs, A.

MSS: **Loscombe:** Wright, Th. — *Fragment of a Poem on the Virtues of Herbs. Rel. Ant.* I, p. 194.

Home of Orig.: (Probably an original. Cf. MS. *Loscombe.*)

———— Poems of MS. Bodlian 425.

MSS: **Bodleian 425:** Heuser, W. — *Eine vergessene Handschrift des Surtees-Psalters und die dort eingeschalteten mittelenglischen Gedichte.* Anglia 29, p. 385.

Home of Orig.: **Not the North:** Heuser, Anglia 29, p. 394 (**Midl.?** Cf. MS. *Bodl. 425.*)

———— Points Best Pleasing to God.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Points best pleasing to God. Y. W.* I, p. 110.

Pope's Trental. Pope's Trental, The.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. XXXIV: *þe Pope trental.* E. E. T. S. 98, p. 260.

Date of Orig.: **14—1/2.**

———— Prayer to Our Lady, A.

MSS: **Additional 27909:** Morris, R. — *An Old English Miscellany*, No. XXVII: *A Prayer to Our Lady.* E. E. T. S. 49.

———— Proclamation of Henry III.

MSS: **Rotuli Parl.** — 42, Pat. 1; 43, Pat. 15. Mätzner, E. — *Proclamation of Henry III. Altengl. Sprachpr.* II, p. 52.

Date of Orig.: **Ab. 1258.**

Prophesy, Scotch Wars. Prophesy in English Rhymes relating to the Scottish Wars, A.

MSS: **Julius A V.** Wright, Th. — *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, Appendix IV. R. B. S. 47, vol. II, p. 452.

Home of Orig.: (Original? Cf. MS. *Julius A V.*)

Propr. SS. Proprium Sanctorum.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Proprium Sanctorum.* Archiv. 81, p. 83, 299.

Home of Orig.: (With the exception of the first piece by a poet from the N. West, the *Propr. SS.* was composed by a Southern poet. Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. LXXVII.)

Hendyng (Digby). Proverbs of Hendyng (MS. Digby), The.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Vernhagen, H. — *Zu den Sprichwörtern Hendyng's.* Anglia 4, p. 180.

Hendyng (Harl.). Proverbs of Hendyng (MS. Harleian), The.

MSS: **Harleian 2253:** Böddeker, K. — *Sprüchwörter Hendyng's. Altengl. Dichtgn.*, p. 285.

Home of Orig.: **Midl.:** Böddeker, p. 287.

Hendyng (Univ.). Proverbs of Hendyng (MS. Univ. Cbr.), The.
MSS: **University Cbr. Gg L 1.** Vernhagen, H. — *Zu den Sprichwörtern Hendyng's.* Anglia 4, p. 181.

——— Psalm L.
MSS: **Auchinleck:** Kölbing, E. — *Psalm L.* Engl. St. 9, p. 49.

Purg. Patr. Purgatorium Patrici.
MSS: **Ashmole 43.** Horstmann, C. — *Das Fegfeuer des h. Patrick. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. 149. **Egerton 1993:** Horstmann, C. — *Das Fegfeuer des h. Patrick. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. 175. **Laud 108:** Horstmann, C. — *The Early South English Legendary.* E. E. T. S. 87, p. 199. **Auchinleck:** Kölbing, E. — *Zwei mittelenglische Bearbeitungen der Sage von St. Patrick's Purgatorium.* Engl. St. 1, p. 57.
Date and Home of Orig.: **13—4/4.** (The original of the *Purg. Patr.* has the same home and the same author as has the original of the *Visio Pauli* (*Laud 108*). Kölbing, pp. 90—97. Kölbing does not designate the dial. of the author of the *Visio Pauli.*)

Bible Story. Rhymed Bible Story.
MSS: **Laud 622:** Leaves 64—68: Joseph in Egypt, etc. Leaves 69—70: Solomon, Elija, Elisha, Daniel, Antichrist. Furnivall, Fredk. — *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II, etc.* E. E. T. S. 69: pp. 96—98 (Leaf 69, column I.); pp. 82—90 (Leaves 69, col. 2, and 70).

Rich. C. de L. Richard Coer de Lion.
MSS: **Auchinleck,** 2nd Fragment, ll. 676—1744: D. Laing and W. B. D. Turnbull. — *Owain Miles and Other Inedited Fragments of Ancient English Poetry.* Abbotsford Club Publ'ns. Edbg. 1837. **Auchinleck:** 6th Fragment, ll. 2763—2936. Laing and Turnbull. — *Owain Miles, etc.* **Auchinleck:** 3d Fragment, ll. 1745—1918: Kölbing, E. — *Zwei Fragmente von King Richard.* Engl. St. 8, p. 115. **Auchinleck:** 5th Fragment, ll. 2579—2762: Kölbing, E. — *Zwei Fragmente von King Richard.* Engl. St. 8, p. 115. **Caius Coll. Cbr. 175:** Weber, H. — *Richard Coer de Lion. Metrical Romances.* Edbg. 1810, vol. 2.
Date and Home of Orig.: **14—3/4. Near Kent:** Kölbing, E. — *Arthur and Merlin. Altengl. Bibl.* IV, pp. CII, LV.

R. R. H., Epist. Richard Rolle's Epistles in MS. University Cbr. Dd V 64.
MSS: **University Cbr. Dd V 64:** Horstmann, C. — *Epistles &c. in MS. Cbr. Dd V 64. Y. W.* vol. I, p. 3.

R. R. H., F. L. Richard Rolle's Form of Living, in Verse.
MSS: *Tiberius E VII.* Horstmann, C. — (*R. Rolle's Form of living, in verse*) *Y. W.* vol. II, p. 283.
Home of Orig.: (Probably by Nasyngton. Horstmann, l. c.)

R. R. H., Med. Richard Rolle's Meditatio de Passione Domini.
MSS: **University Cbr. Ll I 8.** Horstmann, C. — *Richard Rolle's Meditatio de Passione Domini. Y. W.* vol. I, p. 83.

R. R. H., Poems. Univ. Cbr. Richard Rolle's Poems in MS. University Cbr. Dd V 64.
MSS: **University Cbr. Dd V 64:** Horstmann, C. — *Poems in MS. Cambr. Dd V 64. Y. W.* vol. I, p. 71.

R. R. H., P. of C. Richard Rolle's Pricke of Conscience.
MSS: **Galba E IX** (ll. 1—1537, 1730—6922, 9211 +. The leaves containing ll. 1538—1729 and 6923—9210 are missing. Andreae, P. — *Die Handschriften des Pricke of Conscience von Richard Rolle de Hampole im Britischen Museum.* Diss. Berlin 1888, p. 1) and **Harleian 4196** (ll. 1558—1729, 6923—9210): Morris, R. — *The Pricke of Conscience.* Trans. Phil. Soc., 1862—4. (The 'Early English Volume'.)
Date and Home of Orig: **14—1/2. Northumbria.** Morris, p. IV ff.

R. of B., Chr. I. Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, I.
MSS: **Lambeth 131** and **Petyt 511, 7** (as variant): Furnivall, F. — *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne.* R. B. S. 87. (Ll. 1—5383 are edited also by A. Zetsche — *Chronik des Robert von Brunne.* Anglia 9, p. 43.)

R. of B., Chr. II. Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, II.
MSS: **Petyt 511, 7:** Hearne, Tho. — *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (as illustrated and improved by Robert of Brunne) etc.*, Oxf. 1725.
Date of Orig.: **1327—38.**

R. of B., H. S. Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Sin.
MSS: **Bodleian 415** and **Harleian 1701:** Furnivall, F. — *Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne".* E. E. T. S. 119, 123.
Date of Orig.: **1303.**

R. of B., Med. Robert of Brunne's Meditations on the Supper of our Lord.
MSS: **Bodleian 415** (as variant) and **Harleian 1701:** Cowper, J. M. — *Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord and the Hours of the Passion by Cardinal John Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor. Drawn into English verse by Robert Manning of Brunne.* E. E. T. S. 60.

Dial. of R. of B.: **Bourn, S. Lincolnshire:** Hellmers, G. H. — *Über die Sprache Robert Mannyng's of Brunne und über die Autorschaft der ihm zugeschriebenen "Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord".* Diss. Göttgn. 1883, p. 8.

R. of G. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

MSS: **Caligula A XI:** Wright, W. A. — *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester.* R. B. S. 86. **Harleian 201:** Hearne, Th. — *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.* Oxf. 1724.

Date and Home of Orig.: **About 1300. Gloucestersh.** — if not Gloucester: Wright, quoted by F. Pabst — *Die Sprache der mittelenglischen Reimchronik des Robert von Gloucester.* I. Lautlehre. Berlin 1889, p. 11.

Robt. of Sicily. Robert of Sicily.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Roberd of Cisyle. Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. 209.

Date and Home of Orig.: **14—3/4. S-E. Midl.:** Horstmann, l. c.

R. and V. Roland and Vernagu.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Herrtage, S. J. H. — *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear with the Fragments of Roland and Vernagu and Otuel.* E. E. T. S. XXXIX.

Home of Orig.: **N-E. Midl.:** Wächter, W. — *Untersuchungen über die beiden mittelenglischen Gedichte "Roland and Vernagu" und "Otuel".* Diss. Berlin 1885, p. 34.

Rule of S. Benet. Rule of St. Benedict, The.

MSS: **Claudius D III:** Schröer, A. — *Die Winteney-Version der Regula S. Benedicti.* Halle 1888.

Smmlg. Altengl. Legdn. Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Bruchstück einer metrischen Übertragung von Legenden aus des Jacobi a Voragine "Legenda Aurea". Altengl. Legdn.*, 1878, p. 1.

Home of Orig: (Follows immediately upon the South-Engl. Collect'n. of Legends SS. in MS. *Vernon.* It is not a part of that Collection.; it is written by another Poet. Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. XXIV.)

——— Satire on the Blacksmiths.

MSS: **Arundel 292:** Wright, Th. — *Satire on the Blacksmiths. Rel. Ant.* I, p. 240.

Date of Orig.: **14th.**

——— Satirical Poem (MS. Auchinleck), A.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Wright, Th. — *On the King's Breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charta. Pol. Songs of Engl.* Camden Soc. Publ'ns., p. 253.

Date of Orig.: **1307—27.**

——— Satirical Poem (MS. Galba E IX), A.

MSS: **Galba E IX:** Hall, Jos. — *The Poems of Lawrence Minot.* Oxf. 1887, Appendix II, p. 97.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1399—1413.** (A direct translation of a Fr. Original.)

——— Sawles Warde.

MSS: **Bodleian 34** and **Regius 17 A XXVII:** Morris, R. — *Old English Homilies, etc.* I², No. XXVIII: *Her Biginеð Sawles Warde.* E. E. T. S. 34, p. 245.

Sayings of S. Bede. Sayings of St. Bede, The.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, Appendix, No. 7: *Here Beginneþ þe Sawe of Seint Bede, prest.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 765.

Date and Home of Orig.: **Shortly before 1250. South:** Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. XLIII.

Sayings of S. Bern. Sayings of St. Bernard, The.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, Appendix, No. 4: *Les diz de seint bernard commenceent Ici tres beaus.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 757. **Harleian 2253:** Böddeker, K. — *Lustneþ alle a lutel þrowe. Altengl. Dichtgn., G. L.* No. XVII, p. 225. **Laud 108** and **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. XLVIII: — *Sayings of St. Bernard: Man's three Foes.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 511.

Date of Orig. (*Digby*): **Shortly before 1250.**

Home of Orig. (*Digby, Harl., Laud*): **Midl.:** Vernhagen, H. — *Zu den Sprüchen des heil. Bernhard.* Anglia 3, p. 60; (*Harl.*): **N. Midl.:** Schlüter, A. — *Über die Sprache und Metrik der mittelenglischen weltlichen und geistlichen lyrischen Lieder des MS. Harl. 2253.* Archiv. 71, p. 163; **W. Midl.:** Böddeker, l. c. (*Digby*): **South:** Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. XLIII.

——— Septem Miracula de Corpore Cristi.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. XXXI: *Septem Miracula de corpore cristi.* E. E. T. S. 98 p. 198.

Sermo in Festo C.C. Sermo in Festo Corporis Christi.

MSS: **Harleian 4196, University Cbr. Dd I 1, Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. XXX: *De festo corporis cristi.* E. E. T. S. 98, p. 168.

Home of Orig.: **North:** Horstmann, C. — *Sermo in festo Corporis Christi.* Archiv. 82, p. 167.

7 Deadly Sins. Seven Deadly Sins, The.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Kölbing, E. — *Über die sieben Todsünden.* Engl. St. 9, p. 42.

7 Penit. Psalms. Seven Penitential Psalms, The.

MSS: **Digby 18:** Adler, M. — *Über die Richard Rolle de Hampole zugeschriebene Paraphrase der sieben Busspsalmen.* Breslau, Diss. Altenbg. 1885.

7 Sages. Seven Sages, The.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Weber, H. — *The Proces of the Seuyn Sages. Metrical Romances*, vol. 3, p. 3, ll. 135—2779. **Galba E IX** and **Rawlinson 175** (as variant): Campbell, K. — *The Seven Sages of Rome.* N. Y. 1907. **University Cbr. Dd I 17:** Wright, Th. — *The Seven Sages.* Percy Soc. vol. 16.

Date and Home of Orig.: *Auchinl., Galba, Rawl., Univ. Cbr.*: **1275. Kent:** Campbell, p. LVIII.

Auchinl., Galba, Rawl. = the intermediate text first removed from the Kentish Orig.: **Begin'g. of the 14th. Kent:** Campbell, p. LVIII.

Galba, Rawl. = the intermediate text second removed from the Kentish Orig.: **Before 1350. Northern:** Campbell, p. LXXVI.

Short Pieces. Galba E IX. Short Pieces from MS. Galba E IX.

MSS: **Galba E IX:** Hall, Jos. — *Short Pieces from MS. Cotton Galba* E IX. Engl. St. 21, p. 201, Nos. I, II, III.

Home of Orig.: (Originals?)

Siege of Troy. Siege of Troy, The.

MSS: **Lincoln's Inn 150:** Zietsch, A. — *Zwei mittelenglische Bearbeitungen der Historia de excidio Trojae des Phrygiers Dares.* Archiv. 72, p. 11.

Home of Orig.: **South:** Zietsch, A. — *Über Quelle und Sprache des mittelenglischen Gedichtes* Seege *oder* Batayle of Troye. Göttgn. Diss. Kassel 1883, p. 71.

Harl. 2253. Songs of MS. Harleian 2253.

MSS: **Harleian 2253:** Böddeker, K. — *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253.* Berlin 1878.

Home of Orig.: Politische Lieder, No. IV: — **N-E. Midl.:** Böddeker.
„ „ „ VIII: — **W. Midl.:** Böddeker.
Weltliche „ Nos. I—VI, X, XIV: — **S-W. Midl.:** Schlüter, A. — *Über die Sprache und Metrik der mittelenglischen weltlichen und geistlichen Lieder des MS. Harl. 2253.* Archiv. 71, pp. 153, 357.

Weltliche Lieder: Nos. I—VI, X, XIV (Cont'd.): Heider, O. — *Untersuchungen zur mittelenglischen erotischen Lyrik (1250—1300).* Diss. Halle 1905.

Weltliche Lieder, Nos. I, III—VI, X, XIV: — **W. Midl.:** Böddeker.

Weltliche Lieder, Nos. VIII, XI, XII: — **N-E. Midl.:** Schlüter, Heider, Böddeker.

Weltliche Lieder, No. IX: — **N-E. Midl.:** Schlüter, Heider.

Geistliche Lieder, Nos. I, III, X: — **Midl.:** Schlüter, Heider.
„ „ „ VI, XIV: — **N. Midl.:** Schlüter, Heider.
„ „ No. XII: — **W. Midl.:** Schlüter, Heider, Böddeker.

Geistliche Lieder, Nos. I, V, VII, X, XI, XIII, XIV, XV: — **W. Midl.:** Böddeker.

Speculum, G. of W. Speculum Guy of Warwick.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Morril, Georgiana L. — *Speculum Gy de Warewyke.* E. E. T. S. LXXV. **Regius 17 B XVII:** Horstmann, C. — *(Speculum mundi.)* *Y. W.* vol. II, p. 24.

Date and Home of Orig.: **Circa 1300. S-E. Midl.:** Morril, p. CLXXXVII.

Spirit. Guyd. Spiritus Guydonis.

MSS: **Tiberius E VII** and **Vernon.** Horstmann, C. — *Spiritus Guydonis.* *Y. W.* vol. II, p. 292.

Stacions. Stacions of Rome, The.

MSS: **Vernon:** Furnivall, Fred. — *The Stacions of Rome and the Pilgrims Sea-Voyage, with Clene Maydenhod.* E. E. T. S. 25.

——— Stond Wel Moder Under Rode.

MSS: **Harleian 2253:** Böddeker, K. — *Stond wel, moder, vnder rode. Altengl. Dichtgn.* G. L. No. IX, p. 205. **Digby 86:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon Ms.*, Appendix, No. 6: *Chauncon de noustre Dame.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 763.

Home of Orig.: **South.** "Rein südländische Dialect": Böddeker, l. c.

Surtees Ps. Surtees Psalter.

MSS: **Egerton 614, Harleian 1770, Vespasian D VII:** Horstmann, C. — *The Psalter.* *Y. W.* vol. II, p. 129.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—1/2. Midl.:** Heuser, W., — *Eine vergessene Handschrift des Surtees-Psalters und die dort eingeschalteten mittelenglischen Gedichte.* Anglia 29, pp. 390, 393.

Sweetness of Jesus. Sweetnes of Jesus, The.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. XXI: *The Sweetness of Jesus.* E. E. T. S. 98, p. 45.

Home of Orig.: **North:** Horstmann, p. 45, Note 1.

Swete Ihesu. Swete Ihesu, Now Wil I Synge.

MSS: **Regius 17 B XVII** and **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — (*Swete Ihesu, now wil I singe, &c.*) *Y. W.* vol. II, p. 9.

———— Symbols of the Passion, The.

MSS: **Regius 17 A XXVII:** Morris, R. — *Legends of the Holy Rood,* No. XIII: *The Symbols of the Passion.* E. E. T. S. 46, p. 70.

Talking of the Love of God. Talking of the Love of God, A.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — (*A talking of þe loue of God.*) *Y. W.* vol. II, p. 345.

Home of Orig.: **North.** Imitation of R. Rolle's Style; original subject matter: Horstmann, l. c. Cf. M. Konrath's Critique on Horstmann's *Y. W.* Archiv. 99, p. 165.

Theophilus. Theophilus.

MSS: **Harleian 4196, (Tiberius E VII), Vernon:** Kölbing, E. — *Die jüngere Fassung der Theophilus Sage.* Engl. St. I, p. 16.

Home of Orig.: **North:** Kölbing, p. 35.

Thrush and Nightingale. Thrush and the Nightingale, The.

MSS: **Auchinleck:** Vernhagen, H. — Zu dem *"Streitgedichte zwischen Drossel und Nachtigall".* Anglia 4, p. 207. **Digby 86:** Wright, Th. — *The Thrush and the Nightengale.* *Rel. Ant.* I, p. 241.

Date of Orig.: **1272—1307.**

Trist. Tristrem, Sir.

MSS: **Auchinleck.** Kölbing, E. — *Die Nordische und die Englische Version der Tristansage.* Th. II: *Sir Tristrem.* Heilbronn 1882, glossary.

Date and Home of Orig.: **13—10/10. North England or Scotland:** Kölbing, vol. II, p. LXI.

12 Profits. XII Profits of Tribulacion.

MSS: **Regius 17 B XVII:** Horstmann, C. — *Twelve Profits of Tribulacion. Y. W.* vol. II, p. 45.

Date and Home of Orig.: **North:** (By R. Rolle. Horstmann, l. c.)

Songs of Love-Longing. Songs of Love-Longing, Two.

MSS: **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. XL, 1 and 2: *Two Songs of Love-Longing.* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 449.

———— Ubi Sunt Qui Ante Nos Fuerant.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, Appendix, No. 5: *Ubi sount qui ante nos fuerount?* E. E. T. S. 117, p. 761.

Uncertainty of Worldly Affairs. Uncertainty of Worldly Affairs, On the.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Wright, Th. — *On the Uncertainty of Worldly Affairs. Anecdota Litteraria.* London 1844, p. 90.

———— Verses on Love.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Wright, Th. — *English Verses on Love. Anecdota Literaria*, p. 96.

V. and V. Vices and Virtues.

MSS: **Stowe 240:** Holthausen, F. — *Vices and Virtues*, part I (Text und Translation.). E. E. T. S. 89.

Home of Orig.: An original (Cf. *MS. Stowe 240.*).

4 M-E. Geistl. Ged. Vier mittelenglische Geistliche Gedichte aus dem 13. Jahrhundert.

MSS: **Arundel 248:** Jacoby, M. — *Vier mittelenglische geistliche Gedichte aus dem 13. Jahrhundert.* Diss. Berlin 1890.

Vind. Salv. Vindicta Salvatoris.

MSS: **Magdalen Cbr. 2014** (Formerly, **Pepys 37**)**:** Fischer, R. — *Vindicta Salvatoris.* ll. 1—1030 published in Archiv. 111, p. 285; ll. 1031 +, in Archiv. 112, p. 25.

Visio Pauli. Visio Pauli.

MSS: **Digby 86:** Horstmann, C. — *Zu S. Paul's Vision von der Hölle.* Archiv. 62, p. 403. **Jesus, Oxf. 29:** Morris, R. — *An Old English Miscellany*, No. XIX: *The XI Pains of Hell.* E. E. T. S. 49, p. 147. **Laud 108:** Horstmann, C. — *Die Sprüche des h. Bernhard und die Visio des h. Paulus nach MS. Laud 108.* Archiv. 52, p. 35. **Vernon:** Horstmann, C. — *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, No. XXIII: *Þe Visions of seynt Paul wan he was rapt into paradys.* E. E. T. S. 98, p. 251.

Wheel of Fortune. Wheel of Fortune, The.

MSS: **Regius 17 B XVII:** Horstmann, C. — *þo whele of fortune. Y. W.* vol. II, p. 70.

Wm. of Pal. William of Palerne.

MSS: **King's Cbr.** Skeat, W. W. — *The Romance of William of Palerne.* E. E. T. S. I.

Home of Orig.: Translated directly but with great freedom from the French *Guillaume de Palerne.* Entirely English in character. Kaluža, M. — *Über das Verhältnis des mittelenglischen alliterierenden Gedichtes "William of Palerne" zu seiner französischen Vorlage.* Engl. St. 4, pp. 1, 199, 209. (Printed also as a Breslau Diss. in 1881.)

Wm. of Sh. William of Shoreham.

MSS: **Additional 17376:** Konrath, M. — *The Poems of William of Shoreham.* E. E. T. S. LXXXVI.

Date and Home of Orig.: **1307—27. W. Kent:** Konrath, p. VII.

With an O and an I. With an O and an I.

MSS: **Rawlinson 175:** Heuser, W. — *With an O and an I.* Anglia 27, p. 283.

———— Wohunge of Ure Lauerd, þe.

MSS: **Titus D 18:** Morris, R. — *Old English Homilies, etc.* I², No. XXIX: *Her Beginnes þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd.* E. E. T. S. 34.

Ysumbras. Ysumbras.

MSS: **Caius Cbr. 175:** Schleich, G. — *Sir Ysumbras.* Palaestra 15.

Date and Home of Orig.: **14—2/2. Northern boundary of the E. Midl.** Schleich, p. 97.

Yw. and Gaw. Ywain and Gawain.

MSS: **Galba E IX:** Schleich, G. — *Ywain and Gawain.* Oppeln-Leipzig 1887.

Date and Home of Orig.: **14th. S. North:** Schleich, pp. XXIII, XXIV.

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Date: **Beginning of 14th.**

Addl. 17376. Additional 17376.
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Addl. 22283. Additional 22283.
("Eine blosse Kopie des MS. *Vernon*, ... selbst in der Handschrift, Vern. ganz ähnlich." Horstmann, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. LXXXVII.)

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Date and Scribe: **13—1/2. S-E. Midl.:** Same dialect as *Gen. & Ex.* (Cf. Hilmer, H. — *Über die Sprache der altenglischen Story of Genesis and Exodus.* Programm d. Gymnasiums in Sondershausen, 1876, p. 2.) Morris, R. — *The Story of Genesis and Exodus.* E. E. T. S. 7, pp. XIV, XV. **E. Midl.:** Hallbeck, E. S. — *The Language of the Middle English Bestiary.* Lund Diss. Christianstad 1905, p. 1.

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Ashmole 43. Ashmole 43.

Date and Scribe: **13-2/2—14-1/2. South:** Horstmann, C. — *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. IV.

Auchinleck. Auchinleck.

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Date and Scribe: **12th. W. South:** Bucholz, R. — *Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam in zwei Handschriften zu Worcester und Oxford.* Erlanger Beitr. 6, p. LXII.

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Calig. A IX. Caligula A IX.

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Calig. A XI. Caligula A XI.

Date: **1320—30.**

Claudius D III. Claudius D III.

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Cleopatra D IX. Cleopatra D IX.

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Corpus Christi Cbr. 26. Corpus Christi Cbr. 26.

Date: **About the middle of the 13th.**

Corpus Christi Cbr. XLIV. Corpus Christi Cbr. XLIV.

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Date and Scribe: **About 1400. Midl.?:** "The MSS. of Version C. (P. P.) are mostly in a Midl. Dial." Skeat, W. W. — *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman.* Oxf. 1886, vol. II, p. LVII.

Digby, A IV. Digby, A IV.

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Digby 18. Digby 18.

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Douce 207. Douce 207.

Date: **End of 13th.**

Duke of Sutherland. Duke of Sutherland.

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Egerton 613. Egerton 613.

Date: **1250—Beginning of 13th.**

Egerton 614. Egerton 614.

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Egerton 927. Egerton 927.

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Egerton 1993. Egerton 1993.

Date and Scribe: **14—1/2. South:** (Egerton Coll. of Legends SS. Horstmann, C, *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1875, p. XIII.)

Galba E IX. Galba E IX.

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Harl. 201. Harleian 201.
Date: **1390—1400.**

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Harl. 1770. Harleian 1770.
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Harl. 2277. Harleian 2277.
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Harl. 3954. Harleian 3954.

Date and Scribe: **14th. E. Midl.:** Skeat, W. W. — *Piers Plowman.* E. E. T. S. 28, p. XXIII.

Harl. 4196. Harleian 4196.

Date and Scribe: **14-1/2—15-1/2. North:** Three hands, all of the first half of the 15th. Hulme, W. H. — *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Evangelium Nicodemi.* E. E. T. S. C, p. XXVII; Horstmann, C. — *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. XXXVIII; Kölbing, E. — *Die jüngere englische Fassung der Theophilussage.* Engl. St. I, p. 28.

Hatton 38. Hatton 38, — Bodleian Lib., Oxf. (Formerly *Hatton 65.*)

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Jesus Oxf. 29. Jesus Oxf. 29.

Date: **13—2/2.**

Julius A V. Julius A V.

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Kings Cbr. Kings Cbr.

Date: **1350. S-W. South:** Skeat, W. W. — *The Romance of William of Palerne.* E. E. T. S. I, p. XLI.

Lambeth 131. Lambeth 131.

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Laud I 74. Laud I 74.

Date: **14th.**

Laud 108. Laud 108, — Bodleian Lib., Oxf.

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Laud 210. Laud 210.

Date and Scribe: **About 1370. South:** Horstmann, C. — *Yorkshire Writers* II, p. 45.

Laud 413. Laud 413.

Date: **End of 12th.**

Laud 471. Laud 471.

Date: **End of 13th.**

Laud 581. Laud 581.

Date and Scribe: **1370—1400. W. Midl.** (Near the Orig.; perhaps an autograph copy.) Skeat, W. W. — *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman.* E. E. T. S. 38, pp. XLV, IX; Kron, R. — *William Langley's Buch von Peter dem Pflüger.* Diss. Göttgn. 1885, p. 13.

Laud 622. Laud 622.

Date: **1380—1400.**

Lincoln's Inn 150. Lincoln's Inn 150.

Date and Scribe: **14th—1450. South:** Fick, W. — *Zur mittelenglischen romanze Seege of Troye.* Breslau Diss. Trebnitz in Schles., p. 29.

Loscombe. Loscombe.

Date and Scribe: **End of 14th. W. South:** Printed by Heuser among "die anderen überreste des alten anglo-irischen dialektes", i. e., the dialect of the emigrants from the Sächsische Süden to

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Marquis of Bath 25. Marquis of Bath's Lib. 25.

Date and Scribe: **End of 14th—15th. Midl.:** Kölbing, E. — *Ipomedon.* Breslau 1889, p. XV. **North:** Horstmann, C. — *De matre et VII pueris.* Archiv. 79, p. 447.

Magdalen Cbr. 2014. Magdalen Cbr. 2014.

Date: **End of 13th.**

Nero A X. Nero A X.

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Nero A XIV. Nero A XIV.

Date and Scribe: **13th. S. Mercian:** Heuser, W. — *Die Ancren Riwle.* Anglia 30, p. 114. **W. South** (The home of the original is Mercia.): Vogel, E. — *Zur Flexion englischen Verbums im XI und XII Jahrhundert.* Diss. Berlin 1902, p. 5. **South** ("Ausgeprägte südl. Färbung". The home of the original is Mercia.): Kölbing, E. — *Zur Ancren Riwle.* Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Spr. u. Litt. 15, p. 197.

Otho B V. Otho B V.

Date: **Beginning of 14th.**

Otho C XIII. Otho C XIII.

Date and Scribe: **13—3/4. W. South** (Several steps removed from a Worcestershire Original. Zessack — *Die beiden HSS. von Lazamon's Brut und ihr Verhältnis zu einander.* Diss. Breslau 1888, p. 62. Quoted by A. Lühmann — *Die Überlieferung von Lazamon's Brut.* Stud. z. Engl. Phil. 22, p. 8.) "Mit anglo-frz. Schreibungen durchsetzt": Lühmann, p. 9, Note.

Petyt 511, 7. Petyt 511, 7.

Date and Scribe: **Before 1400. N(-E.) Midl.** Northern part. Farther North than *MS. Lamb. 131,* which is from the Southern part of the N-E. Midl. (The home of the original is S. Lincolnsh.): Zetsche, A. W. — *Über den I. Teil der Bearbeitung des "roman de Brut" des Wace durch Robert Mannyng of Brunne.* Diss. Reudnitz-Leipz. 1887, p. 60; Börner, O. — *Die Sprache Roberd Mannyng's of Brunne und ihr Verhältnis zur neuenglischen Mundart.* Diss. Halle 1903, p. 10.

Philipps 8231. Philipps 8231.

Date and Scribe. **About 1400. W. Midl.** "Does not differ much from (*Laud 581*)": Skeat, W. W. — *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman.* E. E. T. S. 54, p. LXXIV.

Rawlinson 175. Rawlinson 175.

Date and Scribe: **Middle of the 14th. North:** Campbell, K. — *The Seven Sages of Rome.* N. Y. 1907, p. XXXVII; "Einheitlicher nordengl. Mundart": Heuser, W. — *With an O and an I.* Anglia 27, p. 283.

Rawlinson D 913. Rawlinson D 913.

Date and Scribe: **14—1/2. South:** Heuser, W. — *Fragmente von unbekannten Spielmannsliedern des 14 Jahrhunderts, aus MS. Rawl. D 913.* Anglia 30, p. 178.

Regius 1 A XIV. Regius 1 A XIV.

Date and Scribe: **1097—1154. Kent.** "Der Schreiber bemüht sich die ae. (W. Sächs.) Schriftsprache zu erhalten — ihre Abweichungen verraten sie": Reimann, M. — *Die Sprache der mittelkentischen Evangelien.* Diss. Berl. 1883, pp. 6, 8.

Regius 5 F VII. Regius 5 F VII.

Date: **Beginning of the 13th.**

Regius 12 C XII. Regius 12 C XII.

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Regius 17 A I. Regius 17 A I.

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Regius 17 A XXVIII. Regius 17 A XXVIII.

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Regius 17 B XVII. Regius 17 B XVII.

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Edbg. Royal College of Physicians, Edbg.

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Date and Scribe: **Beginning of 14th—15th. Northumbrian:** Hupe in R. Morris's Edition of the *Cursor Mundi.* E. E. T. S. 101, p. 130. **North:** Gerould, G. H. — *The North English Homily Collection.* Diss. Oxf. 1902, p. 6.

Sloane 1044. Sloane 1044.

Date: **14th.**

Stowe 240. Stowe 240.

Date and Scribe: **About 1200. Midl.:** Heuser, W. — *Zum kent. Dialekt im Mittelenglischen.* Anglia 17, p. 88. **S-E. South** (The original was O. E. — unless this be an original. A neighbor dialect to the Kentish.): Schmidt, G. — *Über die Sprache und Heimat der "Vices and Virtues".* Diss. Leipz. 1899, p. 69.

Tiberius E VII. Tiberius E VII.

Date and Scribe: **c. 1350. North:** Horstmann, C. — *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. LXXVIII.

Titus D XVIII. Titus D XVIII.

Date and Scribe: **13—1/2. N. Mercian with southern forms:** Heuser, W. — *Die Ancren Riwle.* Anglia 30, p. 114. **North:** Mühe, T. — *Über den im MS. Cotton Titus D XVIII enthaltenen Text der Ancren Riwle.* Diss. Göttgn. 1901, p. 61. **Northern** in Character (*Ancren Riwle*) Kölbing, E. — *Zur Ancren Riwle.* Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Spr. u. Litt. 15, p. 197.

Trinity Cbr. B 14, 52. Trinity Cbr. B 14, 52.

Date and Scribe: **12-4/4—13-1/2. S-E. Midl.:** Morris, R. — *Old English Homilies II.* E. E. T. S. 53, p. XII; Krüger, **A.** — *Sprache und Dialekt der mittelenglischen Homilien in der Handschrift B 14, 52. Trinity College Cambridge.* Diss. Erlangen 1885, p. 8. **Midl.:** Heuser, W. — *Zum kent. Dialekt im Mittelenglischen.* Anglia 17, p. 89. "Near Kent": Lewin, H. — *Das mittelenglische Poema Morale.* Halle 1881, p. 10.

Trinity Cbr. B 15, 17. Trinity Cbr. B 15, 17.

Date: **About 1400.**

Trinity Dublin A 4, 4. Trinity Dublin A 4, 4.

Date: **14th.**

University Cbr. Dd I 1. University Cbr. Dd I 1.

Date and Scribe: **14-2/2—15-1/2. South:** Horstmann, C. — *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, pp. LIX, LX; Gerould, G. H. — *The North English Homily Collection.* Diss. Oxf. 1902, p. 6. **North:** Kribel, G. — *Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole,* II: *Lamentatio St. Bernardi de compassione Mariae.* Engl. St. 8, p. 83.

University Cbr. Dd I 17. University Cbr. Dd I 17.

Date and Scribe: **14/15. S-E. Midl. with Northern forms:** Campbell, K. — *The Seven Sages of Rome.* N. Y. 1907, p. XXXIX.

University Cbr. Dd V 64. University Cbr. Dd V 64.

Date and Scribe: **14th. North:** Horstmann, C. — *Yorkshire Writers* I, p. 3.

University Cbr. Gg I 1. University Cbr. Gg I 1.

Date: **13—2/2.**

University Cbr. Gg IV 27, 2. University Cbr. Gg IV 27, 2.

Date and Scribe: **13—2/2. South:** McKnight, G. H. — *King Horn, Floriz and Blaunchefleur, The Assumption of Our Lady.* E. E. T. S. 14, p. XXVIII; Hausknecht, E. — *Floris and Blaunchefleur.* Smmlg. Engl. Denkmäler in krit. Ausgaben, vol. 5. Berlin 1885, p. 130. **Anglo-Fr.:** Hall, J. — *King Horn.* Oxf. 1901, p. X.

University Cbr. Gg V 31. University Cbr. Gg V 31.

Date: **14-2/2—Early 15th. North:** Horstmann, C. — *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. LXV; Gerould, G. H. — *The North English Homily Collection.* Diss. Oxf. 1902, p. 6.

University Cbr. Ll I 8. University Cbr. Ll I 8.

Date and Scribe: **14th. South,** "wie ein flüchtiger Blick lehrt". (*Speculum Vitae.*); Ullmann, J. — *Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole,* I. Engl. St. 7, p. 422.

University Cbr. Mm IV 28. University Cbr. Mm IV 28.

Date: **12/13.**

Vernon. Vernon.

Date and Scribe: **14—2/2. South:** Horstmann, C. — *Altengl. Legdn.*, 1881, p. LXXI; Furnivall, F. — *The Stacions of Rome, etc.* E. E. T. S. 25, p. 1; Skeat, W. W. — *Joseph of Arimathie.* E. E. T. S. 44, p. XI; Kribel, G. — *Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole,* II: *Lamentatio St. Bernardi de compassione Mariae.* Engl. St. 8, p. 183. **S. West:** Gruber, H. — *Beiträge zu dem mittelenglischen Dialoge "Ipotis".* Anglia 18, p. 61.

Vespasian A III. Vespasian A III.

Date and Scribe: 1st Scribe, ll. 1—16748: **14th.** (The 2nd and 3rd Scribes belong to the *15th c.* Cf. H. Hupe in R. Morris's edition of the *Cursor Mundi.* E. E. T. S. 101, p. 125*.) **Northumbrian** — North Lancashire: Hupe, p. 127*. The first scribe copied to the letter, retaining the phonology of his original. (This was older than the phonology of the originals that the 2nd and 3rd scribes copied.) Hupe 128*.

Vespasian A XXII. Vespasian A XXII.

Vespasian B XVI. Vespasian B XVI.

Date: **About 1400.**

Vespasian D VII. Vespasian D VII.

Date and Scribe: **About 1350. Yorkshire** (Home of Orig.: W. Midl.): Horstmann, C. — *Yorkshire Writers* II, p. 129.

Vitellius D III. Vitellius D III.

Date and Scribe: **13—2/2. South:** McKnight, G. H. — *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, The Assumption of Our Lady.* E. E. T. S. 14, p. XL.

Worcester. Worcester.

Date and Scribe: **12th. W. South:** Buchholz, R. — *Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam.* Erlanger Beitr. 6, p. II. **South:** Haufe, E. — *Die Fragmente der Rede der Seele an den Leichnam in der Handschrift der Cathedrale zu Worcester.* Diss. Greifswald 1880, p. 7.

The French Inchoative Suffix *-iss*
and
The French *-ir* Conjugation in Middle-English.

Introduction.

The aims of this investigation are: first, to establish the origin of the English forms *-ish* (*-isch*, *-ich*) and *-is* (*-iss*) of the French suffix *-iss*, which entered England with the French "inchoative" verbs; secondly, to determine the extent of the analogical disturbances which took place among the English derivatives of the French *-ir* conjugation.

A list of the Engl. derivatives of the *-ir* verbs was compiled from Murray's dictionary (To *Premious*, *Q*, and *R* to *Reserve*.), supplemented by the Century and the Stratmann-Bradley dictionaries. The material collected from the monuments includes every instance of these derivatives that was found in the course of a first reading of all the available published monuments of the XII, XIII, and XIV centuries.

The period represented by the material is that between the first appearance of the *-ir* derivatives and the year 1400. Two circumstances determined the latter boundary. Until then, the Fr. loan-words reflect Fr. dialectical peculiarities;[1]) until then,

[1]) Cf. The characterization of the period in question which closes the Preface.

the M. E. literary dialects — which broke down completely in the first half of the XV c. — are still distinguishable. Of course this period encroaches on the XV c. more or less, according to locality. Lack of time for further investigation forced me to set the arbitrary boundary, 1400,[1]) and to exclude three classes of material falling within the limit set: i. e., the works of Chaucer and Wyclif and the documents in the London dialect. I hope, at a later date, to include these in an investigation of the XV c. monuments.

Attempts to characterize the French linguistic influence in its first period are not lacking. Scheibner thinks that the dialect of the conquerors did not develop further than the beginning of the XIII c. (First, or "Norman", period.) After that time Norman English, as well as Saxon English, had to learn French; and this French differed as the sources whence they learned it differed. (Second, or "French", period.)[2]) Scheibner's results were based on records and notices of a purely sociological significance. As Behrens points out:[3]) there is not sufficient evidence of this kind to settle the question; the linguistic evidence also must be brought to bear.

Thierry supposes that a *langage mêlé* existed.[4]) There is, however, no trace of a *langage mêlé*, — such, for instance, as Pidgeon-English.

Based on linguistic evidence, is the view held by Murray: "The French words adopted before 1400 were generally taken from the Anglo-French, or French spoken for several centuries in England, where they had undergone further changes." This

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[1]) This limit includes MSS. dated about 1400, as well as those which are placed in the XIV c. by one authority and in the XV c. by another.

[2]) O. Scheibner, *Über die Herrschaft der französischen Sprache in England in der Zeit vom XI. bis zum XIV. Jahrhundert.* Annaberg. Progr., 1880, p. 28. Cf. G. Körting — *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Englischen Philologie*, p. 73 — who has practically the same division.

[3]) Frz. Stud. 5, p. 104 and Paul's Grdr.[2] I, p. 960.

[4]) *Historie de la conquête de l'Angleterre.* Quoted from Behrens, Frz. Stud. 5, p. 103.

Anglo-French was "in its origin a mixture of various Norman and other Northern French dialects".[1]) Sturmfels expresses himself similarly: "... dass sich der vokalismus des ganzen nordöstlichen küstenlandes in den verschiedenen distrikten Englands widerspiegelt".[2]) Behrens shows that the correspondence between Engl. and Non-Norman Fr. sounds which could have given rise to the above theory can be accounted for — with few exceptions — on the ground of Engl. as well as of continental influence.[3])

Behrens bases his own views of the matter on a careful comparison of the Fr. loan-words. He reaches the following conclusion: "... dass die Gestalt der nachweislich vor dem Ausgang des 14. Jahrh. in das Mittelenglische eingedrungenen französischen Lehnwörter fast durchweg auf einen zu Grunde liegenden normannischen Lautstand ..., in seltenen Fällen auf den Lautstand anderer französischer Mundarten weise."[4])

It seems to me that we may accept Behrens' view. In the course of this investigation, however, we shall have occasion to recall that Norman and Picard had many dialectical peculiarities in common.[5])

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[1]) N. E. D. — "General Explanations", p. X, Footnote.

[2]) Anglia 8, p. 212.

[3]) Frz. Stud. 5, pp. 105 and 309. Paul's Grdr.[2] I, p. 960.

[4]) Paul's Grdr.[2] I, p. 960.

[5]) W. Heuser (*Festländische Einflüsse im Mittelenglischen.* Bonner Beitr. 12, p. 173.) surmises that the immigration from Flanders "nicht ohne unmittelbare sprachliche Folgen bleiben konnte". He finds traces of Flemish influence, p. 178ff., in *Sir Ferumbras.* If the Flemings left an impress on the language, it must have been a local one; otherwise it would have come to the surface in the literature.

Part First

The French Inchoative Suffix *-iss* in Middle English.

I. Previous History of the Suffix.

1. The Idg. Suffix *-skˇo* or *-skˇho*.[1])

From the first the *-sk* suffix probably served as the outward sign of some "secondary" meaning just as it has done since, — at different times, in various languages, and in the nominal as well as in the verbal categories.[2]) What this original secondary meaning was is not known. It is true that in the three Idg. words for seeking after something (O.H.G. *wunscean*, Skt. *vāñchati*, — I-E., *uə̄-ské-ti*; O.H.G. *forscōn*, Skt. *pr̥chắti*, — I-E., *pr̥(k̂)-ské-ti*; and O.H.G. *eiscōn*, Skt. *icháti*, — I-E., *i(s)-ské-ti*) *-sk* probably represents this meaning, "wishing for" or "seeking" after", — the suffix having been adapted accidentally by one of these words and then transferred from it to the others.[3])

But there is nowhere an indication of the original meaning of the suffix. We must give that up for lost and look upon the various meanings as indigenous to localities, "the result of

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[1]) Whether the orig. suffix was *-skˇo* or *-skˇho* is still an open question. Cf. Brugmann's Kurze Vergl. Gramm., p. 519, § 681, Note 1.

[2]) In Latin, for instance, *-esc* generally indicates that "the present tenses carry another meaning (here the inchoative) in addition to their temporal significance". Brugmann, Vergl. Gramm. II, 2, p. 875, § 487.

In Post-Homeric Greek, *-ισκο* is the sign of the diminutive meaning in certain nouns, *παιδίσκος*, etc. Brugmann, Vergl. Gramm.[2] II, 1, p. 501, § 384.

[3]) M. Bloomfield, *On the so-called root-determinatives in the Indo-European languages.* I. F. 4, p. 68.

circumstances which had nothing to do with the morphological character of the verbal forms". [1])

These various "secondary" meanings sprang up and spread in a very natural way. Where one member of a group of words semantically related has the *-sk* suffix, the other members may take it as a sign of their "congeneric" meaning by "adaptation".

In this way the *inchoative* meaning came to be connected with the *-sk suffix*. This took place in Greek, [2]) although only to a very limited extent, — p. e., *γενειάσκω* (= 'to grow into a beard') on the model of *γερᾴσκω*, *ἡβάσκω*. But it was in Latin that the association of the inchoative meaning with the *-sk* suffix became a firmly established relationship. Here the union was cemented by the existence of certain *-sk* verbs whose root-idea was inchoative, — p. e., *cresco*, *adolesco*, etc. [3])

2. The *-sk* Suffix in the Romance Languages.

The connection of the *-sk* suffix with the inchoative meaning, by no means either universal or consistent in Latin, became utterly confused in the Romance languages, leaving *-sk* merely a formative or derivative element with no specific signification.

Even as such it survived in its original form among those Romance dialects only that were the last to attain isolation. These show forms of the suffix in *-isc* and *-esc*, [4]) the nearest approach to the Popular Latin. Earlier isolated dialects, such as those of the Iberian peninsula, have verbs in *-ire* paralleled by

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[1]) Brugmann, Vergl. Gramm. II, 2, p. 875, § 487.

[2]) Delbrück finds no inchoative meaning among the *-sk* verbs in O. Indian, Iranian, and early Greek. Brugm.-Delbr., Vergl. Synt. IV, 1, p. 61, § 23. Nor does the inchoative meaning appear among those instances of *-sk* verbs in Celtic and in Slavic that Brugmann gives, Vergl. Gramm. II, 2, p. 1036, § 675 and p. 1037, § 677. In Teutonic, *-sk* has ceased to be creative as a verbal suffix. Brugm.-Delbr., Vergl. Synt. IV, 1, p. 124, § 45. As a substantival suffix, on the other hand, it is still formative. Cf. Brugmann, Vergl. Gramm.[2] II, 1, p. 477, § 369.

[3]) Brugmann, Vergl. Gramm. II, 2, p. 875, § 487 and p. 1034, § 674.

[4]) Gröber's Grdr.[2] I, p. 478. Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. II, § 200.

others in *-iscere*; on the other hand those dialects that were the first to become isolated — p. e., the Sardinian — possess no representative of the suffix. In Northern France — where the dialects attained isolation before that of Roumania, but after those of Spain — the Folk-Latin *-esc* became *-isc* by analogy, upon entering the *-i-* class.[1])

Its introduction into this class it owes to the effort to level the accent throughout all the persons of a tense. *Fín(i)o, fínis, fínit, finímus, finítis, fín(i)unt* represents the first stage. The syllable *-e/-isc*, traditionally possessing a strong stress, was borrowed by the *-i* conjugation and added to the root-accented stem in all three persons of the singular and in the third person plural, in order that the word-stress might be attracted to the same position in these four persons that it held in the first and second persons plural. The result was: *finịsco, finịskis, finịskit, finímus, finítis, finịscunt*, followed by a leveling of the first and second persons plural to *finískimus, finískitis.*

This development did not proceed regularly in all the dialects where *-e/-isc* survived. But we will consider only the development in Northern France. There the suffix lodged in all forms of the pres. and imperf. indicative, the imperative, and the pres. participle. Ultimately, but still in pre-literary times, it was extended over the forms of the pres. subjunctive also.

II. The French Suffix *-iss* in England.

1. Statement of the Problem.

The French suffix is universally written *-is(s)* in France, from the earliest monuments to those of the present time. This sign phonetically represents the suffix as it is pronounced in standard French, — i. e., with the voiceless spirant *s*.

In English monuments, on the other hand, the Fr. suffix

[1]) Meyer-Lübke, l. c.

is written for several centuries after its first appearance: *-ish, -isch, -ich,* [1]) and *-is, -iss* [2]) seemingly without discrimination.

Side by side with the Fr. suffix was the descendant of the Anglo-Saxon suffix *-isc*, as in *Englisc, mennisc.* Contemporaneously with the appearance of the Fr. suffix in England, and for several centuries thereafter, the Ags. suffix also was written *-ish, -isch, -ich,* [1]) and *-is, -iss,* [2]) seemingly without discrimination. (This confusion of signs for the Ags. suffix is paralleled by the writing of Ags. *sc* when it is part of the stem, as in *fish, fisch, fich, fiss, fis.*)

The *-ish* sign has survived in both suffixes and phonetically represents them as they are pronounced in standard English, — i. e., with the voiceless palatal spirant *š.* [3]) (This survival is paralleled by that of the sign *sh* — representing the sound *š* — for Ags. *sc* in stem position.)

The case, then, is this. The Fr. suffix is consistently written *-iss* in O. Fr. and in Mod. Fr.; it is pronounced (*-is*) in Mod. Fr.

It is written sometimes *-is*, sometimes *-ish* in Middle English; in Modern English it is written *-ish* and pronounced (*-iš*).

The question is: how, when, and where did the English pronunciation (*-iš*) of the French suffix originate?

2. Previous Explanations.

a) Ten Brink and Behrens.

Ten Brink [4]) says that the sound *š* must also have existed in Old French, the sound having developed out of Lat. *sc* before

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[1]) *-ish* is used as archetype of these variants throughout this investigation.

[2]) *-iss* is used as archetype of these variants throughout this investigation.

[3]) The single exception to this statement is the verb *rejoice* (< *rejouir, rejouiss*—), where the M. E. *-iss* type (voiceles *-s*) of the Fr. suffix has survived.

[4]) „Dieser Laut (i. e. *š*) ... muss auch im Altfrz. existiert haben und hier sich vielfach unter der Schreibung *ss* verstecken. ... Jedenfalls ist der Laut ins Engl. gedrungen, ... während die Schreibung, von *ss* ausgehend, sich allmählich das für den identischen Laut in einheimischen Wörtern geltende Zeichen *sch, sh* angeeignet hat. ... Zumal kommen die Verba der *i*-Klasse mit inchoativem Präsens in Betracht ...". Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst, § 112 *β*.

e and *i*, over *sky*, *sty*, *stš*, *sš*; that the resultant long or short *š* was concealed under the symbol *ss*; that as *š* it entered England; that there it gradually discarded the *ss* sign, adopting in its place the symbol — *sh*, (*sch*) — which was already in use for the *š* sound in words of native origin. Ten Brink offers no evidence to show that the Fr. suffix had the *š* sound, nor does he offer any to prove that it was first written *ss* in England and later *sch*, *sh*.

b) *Behrens* agrees with ten Brink that the Fr. suffix had the *š* sound in France [1]) and locates it specifically in the Norman and the Picard dialects. He derives the form *-iš* in these dialects from *-istš*, with an intermediate stage *-isš*. [2])

He admits that he possesses no evidence to show that the Fr. suffix had the *š* sound in O. F., [3]) nor does he advance any to show that the suffix was *-iš* (*-isš*, *-istš*) in the Norm. and the Pic. dialects. In the matter of the Engl. writing he is evidently in accord with ten Brink. He considers it significant that the older MSS. write the suffix *s* (*ss*), the younger ones, *sh* (*ch*), and he offers evidence to support this view. [4])

Behrens clears the way for his explanation with the plausible statement [5]) that a development of the voiceless *s* of the Fr.

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[1]) "Dass die ins Englische gedrungenen Lehnwörter heute einen anderen Lautstand repräsentieren, als ihn die französische Litteratursprache aufweist, ist weniger auffallend, als dass auch in Altfranzösischen die Orthographie nirgends mehr eine jener älteren Lautstufen zu indizieren scheint, trotzdem dieselben zur Zeit, in der die hier einschlägigen Wörter ins Englische drangen, dialektisch wenigstens vorhanden gewesen sein dürften." Frz. Stud. 5, p. 289.

[2]) Speaking of the Norm.-Pic. *tš* (< Lat. *c*) in Engl., B. says: "Zu *š* entwickelte es sich (wann?) nach *n* in *haunch*, *branch* und nach *s* im (me.) Inlaut vor und nach dem Ton in einer grossen Gruppe von Wörtern: *anguish*, *blandish*, *finish*, *flourish*, *nourish* etc." Paul's Grdr.[2] I, p. 988.

[3]) Cf. Note 4 on the preceding page.

[4]) "Auffallend bleibt ebenso die Tatsache, dass in den älteren englischen Texten ... stets die Schreibung *ss*, *s* begegnet (s. die Belege im Lehnwörterverzeichnis ...) und erst in jüngeren englischen HSS. durch die Schreibung *ch*, *sh* der ne. Laut, resp. eine Vorstufe des ne. Lautes, unzweideutig bezeichnet wird." Frz. Stud. 5, p. 290.

[5]) Frz. Stud. 5, p. 290.

suffix to *š* on Engl. soil is out of the question because the other Fr. and native *ss* in similar phonetic surroundings would have had to take part in any such development.

c) Heuser.

Heuser advances an entirely different theory. He supposes that the Fr. suffix together with the *sc* of the Ags. suffix, went to *š* over "an *sz* sound" (by which he evidently means a combination of the voiceless *s* and *ts*, — i. e., *-sts*).[1]) This last, he thinks, was written *ss*, *sc*, *s* in Middle English.[2])

According to Heuser the necessity for such an hypothesis arises out of the improbability that in such widely scattered monuments signs so different as *sch*, *sc*, *ss*, and *s* could represent the same sound. We know that *sch* does represent the sound *š*. It remains to find out the sound represented by *sc*, *ss*, and *s*. Such a sound must be different from *s*, since its development — initially, at least — is different from that of *s*; but it must be closely enough related to *s* to account for the writing *s* in rhyme position. The sound *sz* [= *sts*] fulfills these requirements.[3]) It would be well enough represented by the sign *ss*.[4])

Heuser admits that he cannot prove that the sound *sz* (= *sts*)

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[1]) "ae. *-sc* in Nordengl. — und ebenso in weitem umfange im Südhumbrischen — zunächst mit dem lautwert *sz* fortlebte, der erst später in *sch* überging (ähnlich wie *finise*, *-sce* zu *finish*)." Anglia 31, p. 289.

[2]) "Ich habe die überzeugung, dass die schreibungen *sc*, *s*, *ss* für *sc* zunächst = *sz* und nicht = *sch* sind, im wesentlichen aus allgemeinen überlegungen und dem vergleiche der denkmäler aus den verschiedensten dialekten gewonnen." Ibid., p. 288.

[3]) "Den *sch*-laut für alle diese oppositionellen denkmäler anzunehmen, scheint mir mehr als gewagt und unnatürlich. Viel näher als diese durch innere unwahrscheinlichkeit eigentlich von vornherein ausgeschlossene annahme liegt es doch, einen *sz*-laut anzusetzen, der sich aus den schreibungen *sc*, *ss*, *s* unbedenklich ergibt. Denn der fragliche laut muss verschieden von *s* sein, da er im laufe seiner entwicklung im anlaut wenigstens nirgends mit *s* zusammenfällt; er muss aber einem *s*-laute nahe genug stehen, um die schreibung *s* und die reime zu *s* zu erklären." Ibid., p. 287.

[4]) "Das merkwürdige *ss* würde einen eigenartigen, aber durchaus verständlichen versuch darstellen, den mit *s* eng verwandten, aber nicht mit *s* identischen Laut graphisch wiederzugeben." Ibid., p. 288.

was written *sc*, *s*, *ss*, but he thinks that it is written *sc*, *c*, and *z* in the words *blisce* (by the side of *blice*, *blize*), *lasce* (by the side of *laze*, Mod. Engl. *lass*), *lescun* (Fr. *leçon*), etc., where he finds a crossing of the *sz* (= *sts*) with the etymologically correct *ts* sound (= O. E. *ts*, *ds*, as in *blētsian*, **ladse*). He brings no evidence to show that *ss* was the prior or prevailing writing, unless a statement to that effect be considered as such.[1])

d) Summary.

Two theories are represented by these three critics: —

1. The theory of ten Brink and Behrens: That the Fr. suffix had the sound *š* in France. That the sign for it was *ss*. That it entered England having this sound and this sign. That it gradually discarded the latter, adopting the Engl. sign *sh* used for the same sound in words of native origin.

2. The theory of Heuser: That the Fr. suffix, in company with the *sc* of the Ags. suffix, developed to *š* over the intermediate stage *sz* [*sts*], represented by the writing *ss*.

In considering the two theories with a view to testing them, the question arises: What light can be thrown on them by an investigation of the English monuments?

Admitting the possibility of establishing on Fr. soil the existence of a form of the suffix having the sound *š* (and we must admit this if we are to consider the first theory at all); admitting also the possibility of an intermediate stage *sz* (= *sts*) in the development of Fr. voiceless *s* to *š* on Engl. soil (and we must admit this if we are to consider the second theory at all): there remains a common point of investigation in both theories — namely, the priority of the *ss* writing in England. This, both theories presuppose, I may say, as no advocate of either has proved it by exhaustive evidence.

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[1]) "Tatsächlich aber ist *ss* (*s*) die herrschende schreibung südlich der Themse, im Sächs. wie Kent. Süden, bis tief in das 14. jahrhundert hinein; im Mld. schreiben Best., G. E. merkwürdigerweise nur *s*, und auch die ältesten hss. des nordens bedienen sich der schreibungen *sc*, *s*, obgleich sie sämtlich *sch* kennen und daneben anwenden." Ibid., p. 287.

III. The Writing of the French Suffix *-iss* in the M. E. Dialects.

As the mass of evidence is sifted out, it will become clear that the diacritical confusion was only an apparent confusion, worse confounded by a succession of observers who in no single instance controlled all the documentary evidence in the case.

The monuments show plainly that in certain districts, or zones, the suffix was written *-iss*, in others, *-ish*; that these districts mutually affected each other along the borders, with the result that in the border-zones both signs are used. We will proceed to establish these zones in the following order: — *-iss* zones: the North Proper, Kent, and Gloucestershire; — *-ish* zones: the Saxon South and the Midland; — border-zones: the Kentish Border, the Southern North, and the Northern Midland.

As the question is one of variant writings, we are concerned primarily with the scribe. The material will be handled, therefore, according to the date and dialect of the scribe. The monuments where the scribe merely preserved the dialect of the original will be placed after those in which the dialect of the scribe is the same as that of the original, and the difference will be noticed.

1. The *-iss* Zones.

a) The North Proper.

The suffix is written -iss *in the North Proper.* **C. M., Vesp.,** 14—1/2: — **-iss**: ps. p. — *cherising*, l. 12174; *norisand*, l. 12337; inf. — *perijs*, l. 8789; *rauis*, l. 7680; *cheuis*, l. 8329; p. p. — *perist*, ll. 2939, 14519; *polist*, l. 9887; *warnist*, l. 4591; *raivist*, l. 7049. **C. M. Cotton Insertion:** — **-iss**: pt. 3 sg. — *vanisth*, l. 404* p. 990. **C. M., Edbg.** (Border, 14th and 15th.): — **-iss**: p. p. — *periste*, l. 22250; *warniste*, ll. 22364, 21929, 19897, 21885; *warnisit*, l. 21884; *noriste*, l. 22111; vbl. sbs. — *warnising*, l. 21927; *norising*, l. 22832; pt. 3 pl. — *flurist*, l. 22230; pt. 3 sg. — *warnist*, l. 24788. **Prophesy, Scotch Wars,** 14—2/2 (Scribe's dialect or author's?): **-iss**: p. p. — *stablestat*, p. 458. The **7 Sages of MS. Rawlinson** (14th.) has type **-iss**: p. p. — *peryst*, l. 1608; *waryst*,

l. 1191; *noryst*, l. 815. **R. Rolle's Form of Living,** contained in **MS. Tiberius E. VII,** shows only type **-iss**: vbl. sbs. — *perising*, l. 742; *polising*, l. 605; vbl. adj. *rauiste*, l. 461; p. p. — *rauist*, l. 30; *rauiste*, l. 311. **Nordengl. Legdn., Tib.,** (14) 15: — **-iss**: p. p. — *blemist*, p. 168 l. 301; *puplist*, p. 144 l. 136; *poplist*, p. 146 l. 286; *abaist*, p. 142 l. 344, p. 57 l. 36; *rauist*, p. 133 l. 135; *warist*, p. 121 l. 171; ps. sbj. 2 sg. — *peris*, p. 170 l. 486; pt. 3 sg. — *vanist*, p. 72 l. 590, p. 121 l. 172; *ravist*, p. 118 l. 533; pt. 3 pl. *oblist*, p. 129 l. 146; vbl. adj. *abaist*, p. 163 l. 343. **Sermo in Festo Corp. C., Harl.,** (14) 15: — **-iss**: inf. — *peris*, l. 115. **Spirit Guyd., Tib.** — **-iss**: p. p. — *abaist*, l. 710. **Theoph., Harl. and Tib.**; — **-iss**: vbl. adj. — *abaist*, l. 190. **Theoph., Harl:** — **-iss**: vbl. adj. — *abaist*, l. 190. In **MS. Harleian 4196 of the Nordengl. Legdn.** the writing *-ish* occurs three times in thirty-three instances of the suffix. This may be due to Southern or Midland originals of the legends in which these exceptional forms occur (The legend collections are still in such a chaotic state that it is almost impossible to find out anything about immediate sources.): — **-iss**: p. p. — *blemist*, p. 168 l. 301; *perist*, p. 82 l. 110; *puplist*, p. 144 l. 136, p. 28 l. 1, p. 141 l. 264, p. 49 l. 69; *poplist*, p. 146 l. 286; *abaist*, p. 142 l. 344, p. 57 l. 36; *abayst*, p. 32 l. 338; *rauist*, p. 133 l. 135; *warist*, p. 53 l. 63, p. 121 l. 171; *norist*, p. 47 l. 144; *obliste*, p. 39 l. 424; pt. 3 sg. — *cherist*, p. 87 l. 579; *puplist*, p. 126 l. 248; *poplist*, p. 84 l. 262; *vanist*, p. 72 l. 590, p. 121 l. 172; *puplist*, p. 96 l. 9; *ravist*, p. 118 l. 533; pt. 3 pl. — *peryst*, p. 83 l. 185; *puplist*, p. 90 l. 847; *oblist*, p. 129 l. 146; ps. sbj. 2 sg. — *peris*, p. 170 l. 486; vbl. adj. — *reuyst*, p. 148 l. 168, *reuist*, p. 41 l. 611; *abaist*, p. 163 l. 343; *burnist*, p. 32 l. 317; **-ish**: pt. 3 sg. — *norishd*, p. 31 l. 261; inf. — *warisch*, p. 49 l. 33, p. 87 l. 589. The same explanation — a possible Southern or Midland original — may account for the single occurrence of *-ish*, by the side of two instances of *-iss*, in the **Barl. and Jos. of the same MS.** (The possibility that the original of the Barl. and Jos. was Southern is enhanced by the fact that a version of this story is contained in MS. Vernon — a Southern MS.): — **-iss**: p. p. — *nurist*, l. 59; vbl. adj. — *a bayst*, l. 596; — **-ish**: Inf. — *perish*, l. 560. On

the other hand since MS. Harlian is more Southern than MS. Tiberius (according to Horstmann), these *-ish* forms may owe their origin to the neighborhood of the S. North border-zone.[1]) A single instance of the suffix occurs in **Yw. and Gaw. (MS. Galba E IX):**[2]) — **-iss**: p. p. — *warist*, l. 2654.

b) Kent.

In Kent -iss (-is) *is the writing.* In the O. Kent. Serm., as well as in the Ayenbite — *the* purely Kentish monument — *-iss* (*-is*) is used throughout. **O. Kent. Serm.** End of 13th: — **-iss:** ps. 1 pl. — *perisset*, p. 32; ps. sbj. 1 pl. — *perissi*, p. 33; p. p. — *i-warisid*, p. 31. **Ayenb.**, 1340: — inf. — *marissi*, p. 220;

[1]) In considering the appearance of *-ish* forms in MS. Harl. 4196, one particularly striking feature presents itself: namely, in the proportion of *-ish* forms to those in *-iss* there is a wide difference between this manuscript's two chief monuments — the Nordengl. Legdn. and the Prick of Conscience. In the former the proportion is one to eleven; in the latter, three to four. This may be accounted for in two ways. The proportionately large number of *-ish* forms in the P. C. could be due to the scribe's close following of the original. (The suffix in R. Rolle's works, as we shall see, shows a development widely divergent from that which it underwent in the North Proper.) It might be due to another circumstance. MS. Harl. was written by three scribes. The P. C. comes last in the MS. and was written by the third scribe. It is possible that his dialect was more southern than that of his fellows. In either case these two monuments represent different dialectical conditions: the Nordengl. Legdn. represents the use of the North Proper as depicted in MS. Tiberius E VII and is treated here; the P. C. represents that of the southern North as depicted in MS. Galba E IX and will be treated later.

[2]) This MS. was written by six scribes. Three of its monuments contain forms that concern us. They are Yw. and Gaw., the P. C., and the C. M. "Additions". (The first two were copied by the first and the fifth scribes respectively. I have been unable to find out which scribes copied the third monument.) The dialect of the MS. is characterized as Northern by Hulme, Hall, and Horstmann. (Cf. Bibliography of Monuments.) Campbell, in his edition of the Seven Sages, says Northern with Midland forms. (Cf. Bibliography of Monuments.) Certainly the writing of the Fr. and the Ags. suffixes and of Ags. *sc* represents that of the North Proper in the C. M. "Additions", and that of the Southern North in the P. C. This difference may be accounted for in two ways: 1. the scribes may have copied closely; 2. they may have come from different parts of the North. Here

punissi, p. 148; *norici*, [1]) p. 9; *norissi*, p. 154; p. p. — *ymarissed*, p. 220; *ypunissed*, p. 74; *y-rauissed*, p. 143; *y-norissed*, pp. 205, 130; ps. 3 sg. — *ioisseþ*, p. 25; *norisseþ*, pp. 21, 140, 167, 186; *norysseþ*, p. 89; *norisset*, p. 83; ps. 3 pl. — *norisseþ*, pp. 105, 123, 204, 205; *florisseþ*, p. 95; ps. sbj. 3 sg. — *norissy*, p. 127; vbl. adj. — *ymarissed*, p. 48; *norissinde*, p. 112; vbl. sbs. — *norissinge*, p. 112; *norissynde*, p. 95; pt. 3 pl.; *norissede*, p. 96.

c) Gloucestershire.

Corresponding to Kent in the East, is *a strongly marked* -iss *zone in the West*, formed by *Gloucestershire* and the immediate Midland neighborhood. This is shown by the Southern as well as by the Gloucestershire copies of the originals. The writing *-iss* is universal in **Robert's Chronicle** as preserved in MS. Caligula A XI (14—1/3) and in that part of MS. Harleian (14—10/10) written by the second scribe (twelve instances in the former; seven, in the latter). **MS. Caligula:** — **-iss**: p. p. — *yperissed*, l. 4648; *inorssed*, l. 1450; ps. 2 sg. — *rauissest*, l. 4001; inf. — *norssi*, l. 1567; *norisy*, ll. 3775, 8938; *norisi*, l. 6453; *hardysi*, l. 4172; *hardissi*, l. 4465; vbl. sbs. — *norissinge*, l. 4900; pt. 3 sg. — *noryssede*, l. 4901; *hardissede*, l. 8796. **MS. Harlian, second scribe:** — **-iss**: p. p. — *yperysed*, p. 226; inf. — *hardyssi*, p. 204; *perysy*, p. 337; *norisy*, p. 315; ps. 2 sg. — *rauysest*, p. 194; vbl. sbs. — *norysynge*, p. 238; pt. 3 sg. — *norysede*, p. 238; *hardyssede*, p. 426. The **first scribe** [2]) **of MS. Harlian** uses the writing **-ish** (Two occurrences.): — **-ish**: p. p. — *ynorisched*, p. 63: inf. — *norische*, p. 69. From the prevalence of the writing *-iss* in the **E. E. Psalter** I should say that the original came from this neighborhood. [3])

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and in the following chapter, therefore, we will consider Yw. and Gaw. and the C. M. Additions with the monuments of the North Proper and the P. C. with those of the Southern North.

[1]) In regard to the writing *c* for the voiceless *s* sound, Cf. Morsbach, Gramm., § 16, Anm. 2.

[2]) The dialects of the scribes have not been separated from that of the original, but the consistent use of the *-iss* type indicates that scribes and original were in accord.

[3]) A definitive location of this monument awaits the completion of

In the **Additional MS.** the writing *-iss* occurs fifty-five times; the writing *-ish*, thrice (The first number is that of the Psalm; the second, that of the verse.): — **-iss**: pt. 3 pl. — *languissed*, Ps. 87 v. 9; *perissed*, Ps. 75 vv. 5, 6; *perisseden*, Ps. 2 v. 9; *perisse*[*d*], Ps. 141 v. 6; *rauist*, Ps. 88 v. 40; inf. — *perissen*, Ps. 1 v. 7, Ps. 9 v. 40, Ps. 48 v. 9, Ps. 72 v. 19, Ps. 101 v. 27, Ps. 145 v. 3; *perisse*, Ps. 9 v. 19, Ps. 36 vv. 30, 36; *peris*, Ps. 40 v. 5; *floris*, Ps. 91 v. 12, Hab'k. v. 27; *flurissen*, Ps. 91 v. 13; *florissen*, Ps. 102 v. 14, Ps. 131 v. 19; *ravis*, Ps. 7 v. 2; *stablisse*, Ps. 4 v. 18; *norise*, Ps. 30 v. 4; *norisen*, Ps. 54 v. 25; *stablice*, Ps. 20 v. 11; pt. 3 sg. — *perissed*, Ps. 9 v. 5, Ps. 118 v. 176; *florissed*, Ps. 27 v. 10; *stablist*, Ps. 39 v. 3, Ps. 104 v. 9, Ps. 106 vv. 28, 35; *norissed*, Ps. 22 v. 2; pt. 2 sg. — *norissed*, Ps. 22 v. 2; ps. 3 pl. — *perissen*, Ps. 67 v. 2; *rauissen*, Ps. 103 v. 21; *joisen*, Ps. 149 v. 2; p. p. — *perissed*, Ps. 118 v. 92; *punist*, Ps. 36 v. 30; *rauissed*, Ps. 43 v. 12; *stablyst*, Ps. 16 v. 12; *stablist*, Ps. 4 v. 10; vbl. adj. — *rauissand*, Ps. 21 v. 12, Ps. 34 v. 12; *warnist*, Ps. 59 v. 10, Ps. 70 v. 3, Ps. 107 v. 11; ps. 3 pl. — *perissen*, Ps. 82 v. 16; *rauis*, Ps. 108 v. 10; pt. 1 sg. — *stablyst*, Ps. 88 v. 20: pt. 3 pl. — *stablist*, Ps. 140 v. 10; imper. 2 sg. — *stables*, Ps. 108 v. 5; *stablisce*, Ps. 118 v. 38; *stablis*, Ps. 117 v. 25; — **-ish**: pt. 3 pl. — *stablisshed*, Ps. 40 v. 9; inf. — *perischen*, Ps. 91 v. 9; ps. sbj. 3 sg. — *florische*, Ps. 89 v. 6. In the **MS. Trinity, Dublin** (14th. Scribe's dialect not given.), of the same monument *-iss* occurs 36; *-ish*, 11 times: — **-iss**: pt. 3 sg. — *angwyssed*, Ps. 87 v. 9; *perissed*, Ps. 9 v. 5, Ps. 118 v. 176; *florissed*, Ps. 27 v. 10; inf. — *perisse*, Ps. 9 v. 19, Ps. 36 vv. 30, 36; *peris*, Ps. 40 v. 5; *perissen*, Ps. 1 v. 7, Ps. 48 v. 9, Ps. 72 v. 19, Ps. 145 v. 3; *flurissen*, Ps. 91 v. 13; *floris*, Ps. 91 v. 12, Hab'k. v. 27; *florissen*, Ps. 102 v. 14, Ps. 131 v. 19; *ravis*, Ps. 7 v. 2; *stablisse*, Ps. 44 v. 18; *norisen*, Ps. 54 v. 25; *norisse*, Ps. 30 v. 4; ps. 3 pl.

Part II of Bülbring's edition. Bülbring, in the brief preface to Part I, gives nothing more definite than a characterization of the original as West Midland. He assures us that it was not Kentish, however, as Forshall and Madden were led to believe it was, by the fact that MS. Additional contained Wm. of Shoreham's poems.

The Southern scribe of MS. Additional copied mechanically.

— *perissen*, Ps. 67 v. 2, Ps. 82 v. 16; *rauissen*, Ps. 103 v. 21; pt. 3 pl. — *perisseden*, Ps. 82 v. 9; *perissed*, Ps. 75 vv. 5, 6; *rauist*, Ps. 88 v. 40; p. p. — *perissed*, Ps. 118 v. 92; *punist*, Ps. 36 v. 30; *rauissed*, Ps. 43 v. 12; *stablyst*, Ps. 16 v. 12; ps. p. — *rauissand*, Ps. 21 v. 12, Ps. 34 v. 12; pt. 1 sg. — *stablyst*, Ps. 88 v. 20; vbl. adj. — *warnist*, Ps. 70 v. 3; — **-ish**: pt. 3 sg. — *auanesched*, Ps. 101 v. 12; inf. — *braundesch*, Ps. 7 v. 13; *perysche*, Ps. 9 v. 3; *perisch*, Ps. 9 v. 40, Ps. 101 v. 27; *perischen*, Ps. 91 v. 9; pt. 3 pl. — *perischt*, Ps. 141 v. 6; ps. sbj. 3 sg. — *floresch*, Ps. 89 v. 6; *rauische*, Ps. 108 v. 10; ps. p. — *norischyng*, Ps. 101 v. 11; vbl. adj. — *warnischt*, Ps. 107 v. 11.

2. The *-ish* Zones.

a) The Saxon South.

In the Saxon South the form of the suffix is -ish. *-Iss* forms do occur, but they are accounted for by the dialect of the original being that of an *-iss* zone — wherever the dialect is known. The consistency of this fact justifies the surmise that the comparatively few *-iss* forms shown by monuments in which the dialect of the original is not known — the E. E. Lives of Sts., the Minor Poems and the Smmlg. altengl. Legdn. of MS. Vernon, and the Constitutions of Masonry — are due to the originals having been written in *-iss* zones. In the **E. S-E. Legdy.,** preserved in MS. Laud 108 (1290), the *-ish* type occurs 7; the -iss type, 3 times. The MS. was written in the Abbey of Gloucester; in fact it is probable that some, at least, of the legends were written by Robert of Gloucester.[1]) Although it is a mere possibility that Robert wrote the legends in which the *-iss* forms occur, the fact of environment is sufficient to account for the appearance of these forms. **-Ish**: vbl. sbs. — *norischingue*, p. 320 ll. 740, 742, p. 322 l. 791; inf. — *norischci*, p. 20 l. 22; p. p. — *I-norischet*, p. 307 l. 267; ps. sbj. 2 sg. — *norichi*, p. 413 l. 364; pt. 3 sg. — *norichcede*, p. 413 l. 372; ps. 1 sg. — *norichi*, p. 291 l. 117; — **-iss**: vbl. sbs. — *blaundisinge*, p. 97 l. 165; inf. — *norisi*,

[1]) Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge, p. XLIV.

p. 159 l. 1840; p. p. — *i-noriced*, p. 449 l. 2. It is a pity that the suffix does not occur more freely in the other monuments of this early MS. The **Kindh. J.** (South. Orig.) is the only other monument of Laud 108 that contains an instance of it, — p. p. — *i norisched*, l. 1554. In **Wm. of Shoreham** (MS., bef. 1350) type *-iss* occurs twice; type *-ish*, once. Here the certainty of a Kent. original relieves all doubt as to the origin of the *-iss* forms. **-Iss**: pt. 3 sg. — *norysseþ*, p. 95 l. 275; ps. 3 pl. — *norysseþ*, p. 112 l. 383: **-ish**: p. p. — *ymarissched* (for *ywarissched*), p. 53 l. 1476. **Wm. of Palerme** (MS., 1350), we know, was written near the Gloucestershire sphere.[1]) The influence of its neighborhood is shown in 3 occurrences of *-iss* in 16 instances of the suffix. **-Ish**: p. p. — *puniched*, l. 4093; *finischid*, l. 5398; *warsched*, l. 604; *warchet*, l. 2622; inf. — *cheresche*, l. 5147; *perisched* (for *perische*), l. 4522; *reioische*, l. 4102; *vanisch*, l. 639; *warysche*, l. 4283; vbl. adj. — *floriched*, l. 2438; *warnished*, l. 1083; — **-iss**: ps. p. — *brandissende*, l. 2322; p. p. — *traysted*, ll. 2075, 4769. **Ferumbras** (MS., 1390) has one occurrence of the suffix, — p. p. — *y-bornsched*, l. 3587. The influence of originals from a North Midland border region is shown in the prevalence of type *-iss* in the **E. E. Allit. P.** — it occurs 15 times; type *-ish*, 6 times — and in **Sir Gawain,** — 4 occurrences, all being of type *-iss*.[2]) (MS., dated 14/15.) **E. E. Allit. P., Pearl:** — **-iss**: vbl. adj. — *unblemyst*, l. 782; *burnist*, l. 990; *bornyst*, l. 77; *bornyste*, l. 220; p. p. — *rauyste*, l. 1088; ps. 3 pl. — *obes*, l. 886. **E. E. Allit. P., Cleanness:** — **-iss**: p. p. — *uncheryst*, l. 1125; *venkkyst*, l. 1071;

[1]) The editor, Skeat, decides upon the S-W. Midland as the home of this monument (p. XLI), admitting that the boundary between this section and Gloucestershire cannot be clearly drawn. He quotes Morris and Madden. The former thinks the monument was written in Shropshire; the latter, in Gloucestershire.

[2]) The originals of these poems were Northern according to Madden (Syr Gaw., p. 301); W. Midland according to Morris (E. E. T. S. I, p. IX). Madden believed the scribe to have been Midland. Fick — who said the most recent word on the subject, in his dissertation on The Pearl — gave the original as Midland near the Northern border (p. 7) and the scribe as Southern (p. 9).

abayst, l. 149; *burnyst*, l. 1085; *un-garnyst*, l. 137; pt. 3 sg. — *vanist*, l. 1548; vbl. adj. — *bornyst*, l. 554; *garnyst*, l. 1277; ps. 3 sg. — *honysez*, l. 596, — **-ish**: inf. — *cherisch*, l. 128; *cherych*, l. 1154; *warisch*, l. 921; p. p. — *cherisched*, l. 543; pt. 3 sg. — *cherycheđ*, l. 1644; *obeched*, l. 745. **Gawain:** — **-iss**: ps. 3 pl. — *cherysen*, l. 2055; inf. — *enbelyse*, l. 1033; vbl. adj. — *polysed*, l. 2393; pt. 3 sg. — *venquyst*, l. 2482. The Southern copies of **Robert of Brunne's works** reflect the unstable conditions which existed in Robert's country. In the **Meditations, MS. Harleian,** (1360), both writings occur 3 times each: — **-ish**: vbl. sbs. — *monasshyng*, ll. 169, 245; ps. 1 sg. — *anguysshe*, l. 1074; — **-iss**: p. p. — *anguyssed*, l. 315; *chersed*, l. 333; pt. 3 sg. — *chersed*, l. 1083. In the **Bodleian MS.** (1400) of the same monument type *-ish* occurs 4 times, type *-iss* twice. **-Ish**: vbl. sbs. — *monasshyng*, ll. 169, 245; p. p. — *chershed*, l. 333; ps. 1 sg. — *anguyshe*, l. 1074; — **-iss**: p. p. — *anguyssed*, l. 315; pt. 3 sg. — *chersed*, l. 1083. In the **H. S., MS. Harleian,** type *-ish* occurs 10 times; type *-iss*, twice: — **-ish**: inf. — *perysshe* l. 4836; *reioshe*, l. 2032, *rauyshe*, l. 2174; pt. 3 pl. — *vanysshed*, l. 8195; *florshede*, l. 905, *rauysshed*, l. 5009; p. p. — *ponysshed*, l. 4830; *abashed*, l. 5640; ps. sbj. 2 sg. — *rauyssh̄*, l. 2177; *rauysshe*, l. 2185; — **-iss**: p. p. — *noryst*, l. 2876; pt. 2 sg. — *reuyst*, l. 1522. In the **Bodleian MS.** of the same monument type *-ish* occurs 10 times; type *-iss*, twice. **-Ish**: inf. — *perysshe*, l. 4836; *reioshe*, l. 2032; *rauyshe*, l. 2174; p. p. — *ponysshed*, l. 4830; *abashede*, l. 5640; pt. 3 pl. — *vanysshed*, l. 8195; *rauysshed*, l. 5009; *florschede*, l. 905; ps. sbj. 2 sg. — *rauyssh*, l. 2177; *rauysshe*, l. 2185; — **-iss**: p. p. — *noryst*, l. 2876; pt. 2 sg. — *reuyst*, l. 1522. The proximity of the original of **K. Alisaunder** to the Kentish border accounts for the single instance of type *-iss* out of 5 occurrences of the suffix in that monument. (The suffix occurs only in **MS. Lincoln's Inn.**) **-Ish**: p. p. — *abasched*, l. 224; vbl. adj. — *norysched*, l. 3124; p. p. — *norysched*, l. 4558; inf. — *norische*, l. 4607; — **-iss**: ps. 3 sg. — *noriceth*, l. 6576. Those **monuments of MS. Vernon** (1370—80) **in which the dialect of the scribe remains uninfluenced by foreign originals** follow. Only type *-ish* occurs. **Charter, Abbey of the**

H. Ghost, Vern.: ps. 3 sg. — *rauissched*, p. 329; p. p. — *rauished*, p. 331; *raueschede*, pp. 332, 333. **Adam and Eve:** p. p. — *abascht*, p. 224 l. 3; *stabelichet*, p. 221 l. 32. **Deb., Mary and Cross:** ps. 3 sg. — *florischeþ*, l. 106; p. p. — *florisshed*, l. 497. **Epist. on Mixed Life:** inf. — *vanissch*, *norissche*, p. 278; ps. 3 pl. (for ps. 3 sg.) — *norisschen*, p. 266; ps. 3 sg. — *norisscheþ*, p. 266; p. p. — *norisched*, pp. 277, 278. **Inform. Alr.:** p. p. — *yrauysshed*, l. 986; pt. 3 pl. — *rauysschede*, l. 917; inf. *nursche*, l. 445. **Pope Trental:** p. p. — *Rauischt*, l. 173. **Lytel Caton:** ps. 3 sg. — *norisscheþ*, l. 256. **Mary's Miracles:** p. p. — *I-Rauesshed*, IV l. 68. **P. P., A., Vern.:** ps. p. — *Chereschinge*, IV l. 103; inf. — *honesschen*, XI l. 48; *polissche*, V l. 257; *punisshen*, XI l. 248; *Cheuesschen*, X l. 73; p. p. — *un-punissched*, IV l. 123; *yrauisshid*, XI l. 297; pt. 3 sg. — *Rauischede*, IV l. 36. **Propr. SS.:** ps. p. — *perisschyng*, p. 91 l. 134; *perisching*, p. 320 l. 44; inf. — *perissche*, p. 112 l. 86; p. p. — *i-perisched*, p. 104 l. 144; *perisched*, p. 109 l. 94; ps. sbj. 3 sg. — *evanissche*, p. 318 l. 5; ps. 3 pl. — *rauisscheþ*, p. 306 l. 82. **Sweetness of J.:** pt. 3 sg. — *norsched*, l. 29. **Spirit. Guyd., Vern.:** inf. — *perissche*, l. 333; ps. sbj. 2 sg. — *perissche*, l. 333; p. p. — *punissched*, ll. 298, 303, 304, 316. Northern originals are responsible for the appearance of type *-iss* in the following monuments of the Vernon MS. In the **Forma Confitendi** both types occur once. **-Ish**: ps. 3 sg. — *norisscheþ*, l. 344; **-iss**: ps. p. — *rejoiesyng*, l. 243. In the **Mirror of S. Edmund** type *-iss* occurs once in 5 instances of the suffix. **-Ish**: ps. 3 sg. — *norisscheþ*, p. 258; p. p. — *perisch*, p. 243; *punisshed*, p. 245; inf. — *norisschen*, p. 258; — **-iss:** p. p. — *stablised*, l. 259. A W. Midland original accounts for the appearance of type *-iss* in **Jos. of Arim.** Both types appear once. **-Ish**: p. p. — *a-bascht*, l. 202; **-iss:** inf. — *trayse*, l. 624. A few *-iss* forms appear in the Minor Poems and the Smmlg. altengl. Legdn. of the Vernon MS. and in the E. E. Lives of Sts. The dialects of the originals of these monuments are not known. But the evidence given so far shows that *-ish* is the type of the suffix used in the Saxon South and that type *-iss* occurs only where the originals are from *-iss* zones. This enables us to conclude

that these *-iss* forms are due to the Minor Poems and the Lives of Saints in which they occur having originals from *-iss* zones. In the Minor Poems there is but one *-iss* form among 13 occurrences of the suffix. **-Ish**: p. p. — *unpunissched*, XI l. 35; *punissched*, XXXII l. 473; *banischt*, XLVII l. 490; *abascht*, XXXVII l. 954; *abassched*, LV, 25 l. 61; *norissched*, LV, 9 l. 83; ps. 3 sg. — *punisscheþ*, XXIII l. 332; pt. 3 pl. — *vanischt*, LV, 11 l. 36; inf. — *obesch*, XXIII l. 1040; vbl. sbs. — *norisschyng*, XXIII l. 620; — **-iss**: p. p. — *venquised*, XXIII l. 909. In the **Smmlg. altengl. Legdn.** there is but one *-iss* form among 22 occurrences of the suffix. **-Ish**: inf. — *perissche*, p. 30 l. 309; *punissche*, p. 14 l. 376; *norissche*, p. 41 l. 21; ps. 3 sg. — *punisscheþ*, p. 16 l. 501; pt. 3 sg. — *punissched*, p. 86 l. 1471; *vanischt*, p. 38 l. 196; *vanisched*, p. 39 l. 306; *vanissched*, p. 88 l. 1547, p. 91 l. 1710, *norissched*, p. 38 l. 236, p. 42 ll. 31, 34; *inorissched*, p. 41 l. 402; *ravisched*, p. 51 l. 583; *rauissched*, p. 89 l. 1595; p. 85 l. 1408; p. 88 l. 1572; *rauischt*, p. 46 l. 292; pt. 3 pl. — *vanischt*, p. 39 l. 266; ps. 3 pl. — *rauischen*, p. 67 l. 309; imper. 2 sg. — *rauische*, p. 67 l. 333; — **-iss**: p. p. — *i tapissed*, p. 70 l. 499. In the **E. E. Lives of Sts.** (MS. dated ab. 1300. Scribes dialect or authors?) type *-ish* occurs thrice; type *-iss*, twice. **-Ish**: inf. — *norischi*, p. 35 l. 26; *norischie*, p. 107 l. 22; *norisschi*, p. 111 l. 14; — **-iss**: vbl. sbs. — *blandisinge*, p. 94 l. 165; inf. — *norissie*, p. 44 l. 24. **The Constitutions of Masonry** closes the monuments of the Saxon South. Its dialectical characteristics have not been worked out. Both types of the suffix occur once. **-Ish**: imper. 2 sg. — *noresche*, l. 406; **-iss**: pt. 3 sg. — *penest*, l. 525.

b) The Midland.

α) The S-E. Midland.

Of the Midland dialects *the S-E. Midland* — separated from Kentish influence by the Thames — *preserves the writing* -ish *almost intact.* **B. of H., Duke of Sutherl.** (MS., end of 14th): — **-ish**: vbl. adj. — *florysshed*, l. 3784. **7 Sages, Univ. Cbr.** (MS., end of 14th): — **-ish**: inf. — *norische*, l. 618. In **P. P., B, MS. Univ. Cbr. Dd I 17,** the occurrence of type *-iss* thrice out of 18 instances of the suffix is accounted for by the S-W.

Midl. original: — **-ish**: p. p. — *abasshed*, XX l. 47; *yrauysshed*, X l. 456; *rauisshed*, XI l. 6; *unpunisshed*, IV l. 140; inf. — *polissh*, V l. 482; *punyschen*, II l. 48, III l. 78; *punysshen*, X l. 370, XIV l. 289, XIX l. 190; pt. 3 sg. — *rauysshed*, II l. 17; ps. 3 sg. — *florissheth*, XIV l. 294; *norisshe*, XV l. 459; *norissheth*, XVI l. 33; — **-iss**: ps. p. — *cherissyng*, IV l. 117; p. p. — *y-perissed*, XVII l. 189; *abassed*, X l. 445. The *-iss* form in **Eglamour** (end of 14th) is due, no doubt, to a N-W. Midl. original, — inf. — *rejoyse*, l. 107.

β) The W. Midland.

-Ish *is the standard in the W. Midland also.* **Double Coming of C.** (14—2/2); — **-ish**: p. p. *punysshid*, p. 60. **L. F. M. B.** (14—2/2); — **-ish**: p. p. — *reuysht*, l. 34. **Wheel of Fortune** (14—2/2); — **-ish**: inf. — *perisshe*, l. 80. The single occurrence of *-iss* out of 12 instances of the suffix in the **12 Profits** (14—2/2) is due to the Northern original: — **-ish**: ps. 3 pl. — *cherisshen*, p. 46; *cherisshe*, p. 46; inf. — *norisshe*, p. 59; ps. p. — *furblisshand*, p. 50; p. p. — *oblisshid*, p. 55; *releeshid* p. 55; ps. sbj. 3 sg. — *furblisshe*, p. 50; vbl. sbs. — *perisshyng*, p. 53; *norisshing*, p. 49; *norisshyng*, p. 59; ps. 3 sg. — *norisshis*, p. 59; — **-iss**: ps. 3 sg. — *norisse*, p. 59. The sporadic appearance of type *-iss* in the Piers Plowman MSS. is chargeable to the S-W. Midl. original. Langland was born in Shropshire and he lived in Worcestershire.[1]) He was, therefore, constantly near the Gloucestershire *-iss* zone. In **P. P., B, MS. Laud 581** (1377—1400) type *-iss* occurs once in 22 instances of the suffix. **-Ish**: p. p. — *yperssshed*, XVII l. 189; *unpunisshed*, IV l. 140; *abasched*, X ll. 286, 445; *abasshed*, XX l. 47; *yrauysshed*, X l. 456; *rauisshed*, XI l. 6; inf. — *polsche*, V l. 482; *punyschen*, II l. 48, III l. 78; *punysshen*, X l. 370; XIV l. 289, XIX l. 190; *punyssh*, XIV l. 188; *warisshe*, XVI l. 105; pt. 3 sg. — *vanesched*, XII l. 293; *rauysshed*, II l. 17, XIX l. 52; ps. 3 sg. — *florissheth*, XIV l. 294; *norissheth*, XV l. 459, XVI l. 33; — **-iss**: ps. p. *cherissyng*, IV l. 117. In **MS. Phillips** (ab. 1400) of

[1]) Skeat. E. E. T. S. 38, p. XLV.

P. P., C. the writing *-iss* occurs 3 times in 22 instances of the suffix. **-Ish**: inf. — *polische*, VII l. 329; *punyshe*, III l. 50, VI l. 116; *punyshen*, IV l. 79; *punysshe*, XVII l. 127; *vanshie*, XVI l. 3; imper. 2 sg. — *publisshe*, XIII l. 38; p. p. — *unpunysshed*, V l. 137; *abasshed*, X l. 86; *abaisshed*, XVI l. 163, XXIII l. 48; *raueshede*, XII l. 168; *raueshed*, XII l. 290; pt. 3 sg. — *vanshede*, XV l. 217, XVI l. 24; *rauesshede*, III l. 16, XXII l. 52; ps. 3 sg. — *florisshiþ*, XVII l. 133; *norssheþ*, XIII l. 234; — **-iss**: vbl. adj. — *a-baissed*, VII l. 17; ps. p. — *chēssing* (for *cherssing*) V l. 112; p. p. — *venkised*, XXI l. 106.

γ) "N. Midland".

Zupitza [1]) characterizes the dialect of MS. Caius Cbr. 175 as "N. Midland". He does not say whether the scribe is from the N-East or the N-West, nor does he say whether he is near the border or not. The instances of the suffix from the two following monuments of this MS. are too few to show any affinity either with Robert of Brunne's country in the N. East or with the home of Sir Gawain and the E. E. Allit. Poems in the N. West. **Athelston** (14—2/2. Scribe's dialect or author's?): — **-ish**: vbl. adj. — *unblemeschyd*, ll. 588, 612, 642. **Rich. C. de L., Caius** (14—2/2. Scribe's dialect or author's?): — **-ish**: vbl. adj. — *flourished*, l. 1842; pt. 3 pl. — *abayschyd*, l. 5189.

δ) "Midland".

The dialects of the three following monuments are characterized no nearer than as "Midland". In the first of these, **P. P., C, MS. Vesp. B 16** (ab. 1400), the suffix is written *-iss* twice; *-ish*, 20 times. **-Ish**: ps. p. — *cheresschynge*, V l. 112; inf. — *polische*, VII l. 329; *punyshe*, III l. 50; *punyshen*, IV l. 79; *punysshe*, XVII l. 127; *vanessche*, XVI l. 8; *anentesch*, XX l. 267; imper. 2 sg. — *publisshe*, XIII l. 38; p. p. — *unpunysshed*, V l. 137; *abasshed*, X l. 86; *abashed*, XXIII l. 48; *abaisshed*, XVI l. 163; *i-raueisshed*, XII l. 168; *i-rauessched*, XII l. 290; pt. 3 sg. — *vanesschede*, XV l. 217; *uanesschede*, XVI l. 24;

[1]) Cf. Engl. St. 14, p. 337.

rauesshede, III l. 16, XXII l. 52; ps. 3 sg. — *florisshiþ*, XVII l. 133; vbl. adj. — *abassched*, VII l. 17; — **iss**: p. p. — *venkised*, XXI l. 106; ps. 3 sg. — *noriisseþ*, XIII l. 234. In **P. P., C, MS. Corp. Chr. Cbr. 293** (ab. 1400), type *-iss* occurs twice in 21 instances of the suffix. **-Ish**: inf. — *pulsche*, VII l. 329; *punyshe*, III l. 50; *punyshen*, IV l. 79; *punysshe*, XVII l. 127; *vanyssche*, XVI l. 8; imper. 2 sg. — *publisshe*, XIII l. 38; p. p. — *unpunysshed*, V l. 137; *abasshed*, X l. 86; *abasshyd*, XXIII l. 48; *abaisshed*, XVI l. 163; *raueschyd*, XII l. 168; *rauysched*, XII l. 290; pt. 3 sg. — *vanesschede*, XV l. 217; *uanesschede*, XVI l. 24; *rauesshede*, III l. 16; XXII l. 52; ps. 3 sg. — *florisshith*, XVII l. 133; *norssheth*, XIII l. 234; vbl. adj. — *a-baschid*, VII l. 17; — **-iss**: ps. p. — *chersynge*, V l. 112; p. p. — *venkised*, XXI l. 106. **Matre et 7 Pueris** (Scribe's dialect or author's? Border of 14th and 15th): — **-ish**: imper. 2 pl. — *punysh*, l. 243; pt. 3 sg. — *norisshed*, l. 28.

c) The Dialect Undetermined.

α) Dialect of Scribe?

MS. Harleian 875 of **P. P., A** (ab. 1400) — the dialect of which has not yet been fixed — has 7 instances of the suffix. They are all of type *-ish*: — inf. — *honesschen*, XI l. 48; *punisshen*, XI l. 248; *Cheuesschen*, X l. 73; p. p. — *polischid*, V l. 257; *un-punissched*, IV l. 123; *yrauisshid*, XI l. 297; pt. 3 sg. — *Rauischede*, IV l. 36. In **P. P., B, MS. Trin. Cbr. B 15, 17** (ab. 1400), type *-iss* occurs twice in 19 instances of the suffix. **-Ish**: p. p. — *unpunisshed*, IV l. 140; *abasshed*, XX l. 47; *yrauysshed*, X l. 456; *rauisshed*, XI l. 6; inf. — *polsche*, V l. 482; *punyschen*, II l. 48, III l. 78; *punysshen*, X l. 370, XIV l. 289, XIX l. 190; *punyssh*, XIV l. 188; *warisshe*, XVI l. 105; pt. 3 sg. — *vanesched*, XII l. 293; *rauysshed*, II l. 17; ps. 3 sg. — *florissheth*, XIV l. 294; *norissheth*, XV l. 459, XVI l. 33.

β) Dialects of Scribe and Author?

In the **Vind. Salv.** (end of 13th) neither the scribe's dialect nor that of the author is known. Both occurrences of the suffix

belong to type *-ish*: — vbl. adj. — *unpunysshed*, l. 1962; pt. 3 sg. *abashyd*, l. 217.

3. The Border-Zones.

a) The North-Midland Border-Zones.

α) The Southern North. — Richard Rolle.

In the Southern North (Yorksh. and N. Lincolnsh.) an unstable condition prevails, owing to the neighborhood of the Midland dialects. The works of **R. Rolle** illustrate this condition. In the **P. C., MS. Galba,** the writing *-iss* occurs 14; the writing *-ish*, 9 times. **-Iss**: p. p. — *peryst*, ll. 2943, 5105; *periste*, l. 3711; *peryste*, l. 5003; *punyst*, ll. 2864, 2879, 3360; *abayste*, l. 1430; *ravyst*, l. 4309; *ravyste*, ll. 5027, 5050; *nurist*, l. 4198; vbl. adj. — *unpunyst*, l. 2863; inf. — *punnys*, l. 4914; — **-ish**: inf. — *perysshe*, ll. 4078, 6072; *perishe*, l. 5007; *punyssche*, l. 4878; *florisshe*, l. 4315; *ravisshe*, l. 2909; ps. 3 sg. — *floresshe*, l. 725; *norisches*, l. 257; *nurisshes*, l. 1020. In that part of the same monument published from **MS. Harleian 4196** [1]) the suffix is written *-ish* 3 times; *-iss* 4 times. **-Iss**: vbl. adj. — *replenyst*, l. 8908; *burnyst*, ll. 8907, 9108; p. p. — *ravyst*, l. 8979; **-ish**: inf. — *peryssch*, l. 7597; *perysch*, l. 7604; ps. 3 sg. — *norysches*, l. 7610. **Rolle's Epistles, MS. University Cbr. Dd V 64** [2]) (14th), has 11 instances of the suffix. Type *-ish* occurs 6; type *-iss*, 5 times. **-Ish**: ps. 1 sg. — *languysch*, pp. 32, 33; inf. — *perisch*, pp. 25, 63; *norysche*, p. 67; ps. sbj. 2 sg. — *punysche*, p. 41; — **-iss**: ps. p. — *blemysand*, p. 9; *languysyng*, p. 33; pt. 1 sg. — *languist*, p. 34; vbl. sbs. — *polysyng*, p. 23.

The Sawley Monk's Version of the Castel of Love, MS. Egerton (14th—15th), reflects the same conditions that exist in R. Rolle's writings. Type *-ish* occurs 9; type *-iss*, 7 times. **-Ish**:

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[1]) Cf. this investigation, p. 13 Note 1.

[2]) The scribe is Northern. — Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, I p. 3. He must have either come from this part of the North or followed his original closely, as the proportions of *-ish* writings to *-iss* writings is nearly the same as that which holds in the rest of Rolle's works.

inf. — *perisch*, l. 1003; *punysch*, l. 290; *punish*, l. 1034; *rauysh*, l. 1152; pt. 3 sg. — *oblisched*, l. 62; p. p. — *punysched*, l. 644; *oblischid*, l. 44; vbl. sbs. — *punysching*, l. 966; *nurishing*, l. 910; — **-iss**: inf. — *venquys*, l. 580; pt. 3 sg. — *punist*, l. 209; *venquist*, ll. 683, 421, 797; p. p. — *punist*, l. 1115.

β) The N-E. Midland. — Robert of Brunne.

The N-E. Midland (i. e. — the neighborhood where **Robert of Brunne** came from, — *S. Lincolnshire.*) *shows both writings.* **Robert's Chronicle (I), MS. Lambeth** (14—1/2), has 39 instances of type *-ish* and 6 instances of type *-iss*. **-Ish**: — pt. 3 sg. — *cherisched*, l. 8758; *abaischt*, l. 10890; *rauisched*, l. 436; *warnysched*, l. 1025; *warnisched*, l. 9334; *warnyscht*, l. 7911; *warnyschet*, ll. 8300, 8308; *waryshed*, l. 8817; *languisched*, l. 8966; pt. 3 pl. — *traisched*, l. 5993; inf. — *bayshe*, l. 13952; *warnische*, l. 10786; *norische*, l. 12265; p. p. — *bayscht*, l. 4676; *abaischt*, ll. 5062, 10904, 12190, 13914; *a-baischt*, l. 13241; *abayscht*, ll. 5460, 7888; *y-burnuscht*, l. 3622; *trayscht*, l. 5459; *betraischt*, l. 5061; *by-traischt*, l. 7887; *warnyschit*, l. 7952; *warysched*, l. 9675; *norysched*, ll. 5934, 10414; *norisched*, ll. 13344, 14126, 14282; vbl. adj. — *y-burnuscht*, l. 10029; *burnusched*, l. 4489; — *warisched*, l. 10182; ps. 3 sg. — *norischeþ*, ll. 11565, 11569; pt. 1 sg. — *norisched*, l. 12260; — **-iss**: pt. 3 sg. — *reioysed*, l. 3924; *reioisede*, l. 5344; *venquised*, l. 5188; *languissed*, l. 9550; inf. — *vencuse*, l. 7396; *norice*, l. 6998. The spelling of the suffix in **MS. Petyt** (1400) is consistent with the more Northern character of this MS. In the chronicle (I) the suffix is spelled *-iss* 22 times; *-ish*, 20 times. **-Iss**: pt. 3 sg. — *reioisede*, l. 5344; *chirest*, (Zetsche) l. 2340; *venquised*, l. 5188; *abaist*, l. 10890; *rauyst*, l. 436; *warnised*, (Zetsche) l. 1028; *wanisid*, l. 8300; *warnisid*, l. 8308; *languest*, l. 8966; pt. 3 pl. — *languysced*, l. 9550; *bessed*, l. 13952; inf. — *venquis*, l. 7396; *vencuse*, l. 7396; p. p. — *abaist*, ll. 5460, 4676; *obaist*, l. 5062; *o beist*, l. 7888; *burnessid*, l. 3622; *traist*, l. 5459; *be traist*, ll. 5061, 7887; *warnissed*, l. 7952; *norissed*, line corresponding to Lamb., l. 5349; — **-ish**: pt. 3 sg. — *warnisched*, l. 9334; *cherisched*, l. 8758; pt. 3 pl. — *traisched*, l. 5993; inf. — *norish*, l. 6998; *norische*, l. 12265; p. p. — *abaischt*, ll. 10904, 12190, 13914; *a-baischt*, l. 13241; *waryshed*,

l. 9675; *norysched*, ll. 5934, 10414; *norisched*, l. 13344; vbl. adj. — *y-burnuscht*, l. 10029; *burnusched*, l. 4489; *warisched*, l. 10182; ps. 3 sg. — *norischeþ*, ll. 11565, 11569; pt. 1 sg. — *norisched*, l. 12260. In the **Chronicle (II)** type *-iss* occurs throughout: — pt. 3 sg. *abaist*, l. 170; *warnised*, l. 293; *norised*, l. 24; p. p. — *abaist*, l. 272; *betraised*, l. 255; *norysed*, l. 14; *venquised*, l. 261; vbl. adj. — *betraised*, l. 156; inf. — *norise*, l. 281.

γ) The N-W. Midland.

The N-W. Midland — i. e. the home of the **E. E. Allit. P.** and of **Sir Gawain** — is not represented by MSS. The MSS. of the two monuments just mentioned are southern. These monuments, therefore, are treated with those of the South.

b) The Kentish Border-Zone.

The monuments of this zone are preserved chiefly in the Auchinleck MS. Those in which the dialect of the scribe stands nearest to that of the original are Arthour and Merlin and Richard Coer de Lion. These were written by the same author, who also copied or translated Kyng Alisaunder — preserved partly in MS. Laud I 74 (14th), partly in MS. Lincoln's Inn 150 (14th/15th) and probably others of the Auchinleck monuments. To this dialectical group may be added Guy of Warwick (a foreign original), Bevis of Hampton (original from the border of the W. South and S-E. South), the Speculum of Guy, Floris and Blanchefleur (S-E. Midl. originals) and Orfeo (S. Midl. original). (No doubt, other monuments of the Auchinleck MS. could be added to this category if all were as fully edited as Arthour and Merlin). Kölbing [1]) characterizes the dialect of A. and M., Rich. C. de L., and K. Alis. as S-E. Midland and repeatedly calls attention to the evidences of Kentish influence reflected in it. Morsbach, [2]) six years later, characterizes the same monuments as S-E. Southern. For our purposes this dialectical district borders upon Kent; it is a Kentish border-zone.

In the Kentish border-zone the suffix is written -iss, *less fre-*

[1]) Arthour and Merlin, Altengl. Biblioth. IV. Leipzig 1890, p. LV.

[2]) *Mittelenglische Grammatik.* Halle 1896, p. 10.

quently -ish. **A. and M., Auch.: -iss**: p. p. — *hunist*, l. 9205; *rauist*, l. 8915; *ywarnist*, l. 4732; inf. — *warnisen*, l. 4338; *warnise*, l. 6605. **Rich. C. de L., Auch.:** — p. p. — *yflorist*, l. 1845 (100); **B. of H., Auch.:** — **-iss**: vbl. adj. — *for-baniiste*, l. 4309. Orfeo: — **-iss**: vbl. adj.: *burnist*, l. 366. **G. of W., Auch.: -iss**: p. p. — *y-treyst*, l. 2517; *y-warist*, l. 4923; inf. — *noris*, l. 6121. **Reinb.:** — **-ish**: pt. 1 sg. — *norschede*, Vs. 66 l. 2. **Otuel** (N-E. Midl. orig.): — **-ish**: p. p. — *norssched*, l. 362. **Degeree** (original?): — **-ish**: p. p. — *abashed*, l. 555; inf. — *Nourish*, l. 222. **7 Sages, Auch.** (Kent. original with intermediate texts from Kent and the North): — **-ish**: p. p. *i-rauisscht*, l. 484; *norissched*, l. 749; *norischt*, l. 883; pt. 3 sg. — *warisscht*, l. 1097.

4. Summary.

The material is now before us. It shows that, except where the writing of an original from another dialect was preserved, the suffix was written: 1. *-iss*, in the North Proper, Kent, and Gloucestersh.; 2. *-ish*, in the Saxon South and the Midland; 3. that it was written both ways along the borders of these zones, two border districts standing out prominently, — the North-Midland (comprising the Southern North: Rolle, the N-E. Midland: R. of B., the N-W. Midland: Sir Gawain and the E. E. Allit. P.) and the Kentish border.

The double writing *-iss* and *-ish*, then, has proved to be strictly a matter of dialects, from the earliest monuments. This outcome shows that the types do not represent successive stages in the development of the whole language, as ten Brink, Behrens, and Heuser thought they did; and in so doing, it disposes of Heuser's theory and puts the ten Brink-Behrens theory on a modified basis. As *-iss* and *-ish* do not represent successive stages in the writing of the French suffix in England, *-iss* cannot represent the transition stage [*sts*] assumed by Heuser. Furthermore, since the difference in the usage of the writings *-iss* and *-ish* is not a chronological one but a dialectical one, the question

arises — whether *-iss*, wherever it occurs, was equivalent to *-ish* in phonetic value, as ten Brink and Behrens thought it was.

We have now to investigate, therefore, the phonetic value of type *-iss*. What sound does *-iss* represent in the three districts where it prevails and in the border-zones?

V. Phonetic Value of the Writing *-iss*.

We have three criteria for ascertaining the phonetic value of the writing *-iss* in the French suffix on English soil: 1. The rhymes; 2. A comparison of the symbols used for the French suffix with those used for the Ags. suffix *-isc* = [*iš*]; 3. A comparison of its pronunciation in the modern dialects with that of the Ags. suffix *-isc* in the same. We will apply these tests as far as the material collected permits. (In collecting the material for this chapter, the author covered only those monuments that are mentioned in the chapter.) In this connection it is particularly to be regretted that only in the North Proper, the Southern North, and the N-E. Midland does the *-iss* writing of the Fr. suffix *-iss* occur in rhyme, with freedom sufficient to determine its phonetic value.[1])

1. The North.

a) The North Proper.

α) The Rhymes.

In the North Proper we find the following rhymes: *ravist*: *Crist* in the **F. of L.,** l. 30; *rauiste*: *Criste* in the same, ll. 311, 461; *a-bayst* (i. e. 'abashed'): *traist* (Mod. Engl. 'trust') in the **Barl. and Jos., MS. Harl. 4196,** l. 596 and in the **Nordengl. Legdn., MSS. Harleian and Tiberius,** *abaist*: *traist*, p. 57 l. 36; *warniste* (i. e. 'warnished'): *Criste*, in the **C. M., MS. Edbg.,** ll. 19897, 21885;

[1]) The following rhymes in a Southern MS. form the only exception to the Statement made above; and they are of little service, as the dialects of the originals in which they occur are unknown. The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS. has *s:* hard *s* and *š* — XXXVII l. 954, *abascht : gast;* XXIII l. 1040 *obesch* (= 'abash'): *flesch.*

warniste : *antecriste*, in the same, l. 22364; *obliste* (presumably stressed on the prefix) : *Criste*, in the **Nordengl. Legdn., MS. Harleian,** p. 39 l. 424; *peryst* : *thrist* (Mod. Engl. 'thirst'), in the same, p. 83 l. 185; *puplist* (i. e. 'published') : *Crist*, in the same, p. 84 l. 262, p. 96 l. 9, p. 90 l. 847; *poplist* : *baptist*, in the same, p. 141 l. 264, p. 146 l. 286; *puplist* : *baptist*, in the same, p. 49 l. 69; and *poplist* : *baptist* in **MS. Tiberius** of the same monument, p. 146 l. 286. The verbs in these rhymes all show the preterit endings. They may, therefore, represent merely a development peculiar to the preterit tense. Such is Kölbing's interpretation.[1]) He says that weak verbs whose stems end in *-sch* supplant *-sch* by *s* before the *t* of the preterit ending. In the **Nordengl. Legdn., MSS. Harleian and Tiberius,** however, occurs the rhyme *peris* : *þis*, p. 170 l. 486, and in the **F. of L.** occurs the rhyme *polising* : *lesing*, l. 605.

These rhymes indicate that in the North Proper the Fr. suffix *-iss* was pronounced *-is*, with the voiceless *s*.

β) The Writing of the Ags. Suffix *-isc*.

This indication — namely, that the Fr. Suffix *-iss* was pronounced *-is*, with the voiceless *s*, in the North Proper — is confirmed by the writings of the Ags. suffix *-isc* and the rhymes of Ags. *sc* in stem position. In the **Cursor Mundi, MS. Galba,** we have *ingliss* ('English'), l. 25122; in **MS. Edinburg** of the same monument, *inglis* ('English'), ll. 20061, 20064; in **MS. Vespasian** of the same monument, *Englis*, l. 9126; in the **Nordengl. Legdn., MS. Harleian,** *inglis*, p. 3 l. 4, p. 13 l. 369, and *Inglis*, p. 71 l. 538; in **Barlaam and Josaphat, MS. Harleian,** *ynglys*, l. 518. This writing in itself would not suffice to establish the phonetic value of this suffix, as none of the instances occurs in rhyme; but taken in connection with the writing of Ags. *sc* in stem position, it is significant.

Throughout the Northern monuments I have examined, initial Ags. *sc* is written *sch*, *sh*, and *sc.*[2]) In the **C. M., MSS. Edin-**

[1]) Kölbing, *Arthour and Merlin.* Altenglische Bibliothek, vol. IV, p. XXVII.

[2]) Exceptional is the writing *scill* for *skill* in the F. of L., l. 120 and

burg and Vespasian, the writing *sc* (representing hard *s*) is quite as frequent as the writings *sch, sh.* There is one consistent exception, — the auxiliary *shall.* Here, in proclitic position, Ags. *sc* developed to hard *s,* written *s.*[1]) The strong secondary stress on the *Ags.* suffix *-scipe* (Mod. Engl. *-ship,* as in *friendship*), no doubt, caused it to be felt as initial. At all events, it is written *sch, sc,* like Ags. *sc* in initial position.[2])

In final position Ags. *sc* shows a tendency to follow the course it takes in the suffix *-ish* and in the auxiliary *shall.* The **Spirit. Guyd.** has *fless* (Mod. Engl. 'flesh') ll. 349, 496, 1861. The **F. of L.** has *flesli,* l. 11 and *fless,* ll. 225, 236, 246, 256, 400, 754. The **Cursor Mundi, MS. Galba,** has *flesly,* ll. 27915, 29022; *flesli,* l. 28627, *flessly,* l. 28679; *fless,* ll. 25289, 25294, 25371, 27918, 28952. The sound is fixed by the following rhymes: **F. of L.:** *fless* : *less,* l. 236; *bisiness* : *fless,* l. 400; *fless* : *es,* l. 754. **Spirit. Guyd.** *fless* : *es* (pr. 3 sg. of *be*), l. 350. **C. M., Galba:** *fless* : *es,* ll. 25286, 28632; *fless* : *bisiness,* l. 28749; *fless*: *forgifness,* l. 25338. The regularity of these rhymes makes it evident that the rhyme *fleschs* : *es* (pr. 3 sg. of *be*), l. 29094 is due to the scribe's carelessly substituting his own form *fleschs* for the *fless* of the original. In the **Edbg. MS.** of the same monument *fleis* and *fles* (Mod. Engl. 'flesh') occur with great frequency. The

in Spirit. Guyd., l. 512. Hard *s* is written *sc* in MS. Edbg. of the C. M. in *sco* = 'she'; *scipping* = 'shipping', vbl. sbs., l. 24815; *scahade* = 'distinguish', inf., l. 22930; *scoke* = 'shook', pt. 3 sg., l. 19211, etc.; *scame* = 'shame', l. 19448, etc.; *scepe* = 'sheep', l. 19384; *scawid* = 'showed', pt. 3 sg., l. 19145, etc.; *scort* = 'short', l. 20881, etc., *scurne* = 'shun', inf. l. 23338, etc.

[1]) The auxiliary *shall* is written with *s* sixteen times; with *sch,* four times, in the twenty occurrences recorded by Kaluža in his glossary to the C.M. from that part of MS. Vespasian written by the first scribe, i. e.: ll. 1—16748. Kaluža tabulates only one example of the different forms of each person.

[2]) MS. Edinburg of the C. M. has *worsip,* ll. 24587, 24709, 24725, 24896, 24953, 23912, 23377; *felawsip,* l. 23353 and *worscip,* inf., ll. 20021, 22290; *scendscip,* l. 19448 by the side of 5 instances written *-schip.* In Kaluža's glossary the words *unnaitschip* (= 'vanity') and *worship* show the suffix *-ship.*

sound is fixed in the rhyme *fleies* : *wesse* (pt. 3 sg. of *be*), l. 20085. In rhyme position also stand *fleis* : *weisse* (Mod. Engl. 'flesh' and 'wash'), l. 23685. They are not conclusive, however, as both *flesche* and *wesche* could be written instead. As sole representative of the writing *sch* finally, stands *fische* (Monosyllabic, judging from the meter.), l. 23231. In the **Vespasian MS.** [1]) the writing *ss* occurs twice as often as the writing *sch, sc.* [2]) In the **Nordengl. Legdn.** the scribe of **MS. Tiberius** used the writing *ss* chiefly; but the following *sch* writings occur; *wasche,* inf., p. 14 l. 254, p. 112 l. 19; *wesche,* pt. 3 sg., p. 113 l. 78; and *wessche,* pt. 3 sg., p. 156 l. 78 (All final, judging from the meter.). The **Harleian** scribes of the same monument use both writings, but they prefer *sch* (*ssh*). Also in the **Barlaam and Josaphat, MS. Harleian,** the writing is *-ssh*: *flessh,* ll. 559, 1042. The rhyme *flessh* : *les,* l. 1040 (characterized by Horstmann as a 'rough rhyme' — *Rohe Reime* — *Altengl. Legdn.* 1875, p. XLIII), must be due to the scribe's carelessly substituting, here as elsewhere, his own form *flessh* for the *fless* of the original. It must be admitted that unlike the case in the **C. M., MS. Galba,** above, the dialect of the original is not known.

Medially, the relative frequency of the two types, hard *s* and *š*, parallels that which exists between them in the final position. The **C. M., MS. Edbg.,** has hard *s*; [3]) MS. **Vespasian** has hard *s* twice as often as *š*; [1]) **MS. Galba** has hard *s*. In the **Nordengl. Legdn., MS. Tiberius,** the writing *ss* prevails, with the following exceptions: *dissche,* p. 126 l. 181; *flessche* p. 157 l. 111 (Both words are dissyllabic, judging from the meter.); *fisscher,* p. 54 l. 120; and *bisscop,* p. 155 l. 238, p. 156 l. 37. The scribes

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[1]) I used Kaluža's glossary. The words in question are *dish, fish, fresh, nesh* (= 'soft'), *thresh, flesh, wash,* and *bishop.*

[2]) Exceptional is *flecche* (Mod. Engl. 'flesh'), l. 10103. Metathesis occurs in *fixs* ('fish'), l. 1963 and in *flex* ('flesh'), l. 15547.

[3]) *bissop,* ll. 19492, 19496; *bissophede,* l. 19330. Hard *s* is represented by *sc* in *bisscop,* l. 19552; *biscops,* l. 19557; *biscop,* l. 21128. It is represented also by *c* in *blicid,* pt. 1 sg., l. 24557; *bliced,* vbl. adj., l. 24578.

of MS. Harleian prefer the writing *sch* (*ssh*).[1]) Besides initial and final occurrences, there is one internal instance, — in the Spirit. Guyd.: *bisshopes*, l. 1124.

The writings of Ags. *sc* — initially, on the one hand; in the suffix *-isc* and in the auxiliary *sceal*, on the other — enables us to conclude that two different sounds were consistently represented. The writing in the former case indicates the sound *š*; in the latter it points with certainty to the voiceless *s*. The writing of Ags. *sc* in medial and in final position shows a transition stage. The phonetic development of *sk* > *š* may be represented thus (I use the hypothesis of Professor Hoops.):

$$sk > s\chi > š\chi > š,^{2})$$

i. e. the *s* gave to the *k* a spirant character (*χ*); this sound reacted on the *s*, broadening it, and then fell by assimilation. In the North, in unstressed and proclitic positions, the palatal spirant is assimilated without affecting its neighbor: i. e., *sk* > *sχ* > *s*.

We may sum up, then, the Northern development of Ags. *sc* indicated by our material as follows: — it went to *š* initially; it went to hard *s* in the following cases: finally and medially, often; in the auxiliary *shall* and in the suffix *-isc*, always. The result coincides with Kluge's statement in Paul's *Grundriss*.[3])

Both the Ags. suffix *-isc* and the Fr. suffix *-iss*, therefore, became *-is* (hard *s*) in the North Proper. The phonetic value of the former is fixed by the symbols, that of the latter by the rhymes.

γ) The Modern Dialect.

In the modern dialect — or rather, dialects — of the North the older forms of the Ags. and the Fr. suffixes have been almost leveled out. (The survivals are few: the old form of

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[1]) *sk* is represented once by *sch*, in *eschape*, p. 83 l. 226, — a not infrequent writing of this word in certain other monuments.

[2]) *χ* represents a sound like that of *ch* in German *ich* or *ach*.

[3]) Grdr.[2] I, p. 995. The statement is to the effect that Ags. *sc* went to *s* (hard *s*) in unstressed and proclitic positions, — as in *Inglis*, *sal*, *suld* = Ags. *Englisc*, *sceal*, *scolde*.

the Ags. suffix survives in *Scotsman, Scots Law,* for older *Scotis*; the old form of the Fr. suffix survives in the North Country and Scotch *waris,* according to Joseph Wright[1]) and to Jamieson,[2]) and in the Scotch *wampes,* noted by the latter.) In the case of the auxiliary *shall,* on the other hand, it is the older form of Ags. *sc* that prevails: from Yorkshire northwards, the auxiliary is pronounced with the voiceless *s.* Otherwise Ags. *sc* has become *š* in all positions.[3])

b) The Southern North Border-Zone: Richard Rolle.

α) The Rhymes.

In the Southern North Richard Rolle's works show the following rhymes: *ravist : Crist* in the **P. C., MS. Galba,** l. 4309; *ravyst* : *Anticrist* in the **Harleian MS.** of the same, l. 8979; *ravyste : Criste* in the **P. C., MS. Galba,** l. 5027; *peryst : Crist* in the same, ll. 2943, 5105; *periste*: *Criste* in the same, l. 3711; *peryste* : *Evaungeli*[*s*]*tte* in the same, l. 5003; *abayste* : *trayste* in the same, l. 1430; *replenyst : burnyst* in the **P. C., MS. Harleian,** l. 8907. Since these rhymes show the preterit ending, they are not conclusive. But by the side of them is the rhyme *peryssch : fyssch* in the **P. C., MS. Harleian,** l. 7597. This rhyme shows that the suffix had the *š* sound in this zone. From these rhymes, the existence of the *-iss* type of the suffix is uncertain; whereas type *-iš* is fixed in the rhyme *peryssch : fyssch.*

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[1]) Cf. Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary,* under the words *English, mannish* (for Yorksh. only) *Irish, Spanish* and naturally the new formations: *babish, bairnish, grievish, sharpish* (N. Country and Yorksh.) and *tightish* (Yorksh.).

[2]) *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language.*

[3]) Cf.: — Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation,* vol. V (E. E. T. S. LVI), pp. 523, 527, 620, 624, 627, 630, 634, 669, 672, 674, 678, 716, 721, 742, 749, 760, 779. The test words are Nos. 24 *shame,* 55 *ashes,* 56 *wash,* 174 *ash,* 218 *sheep,* 225 *flesh,* 284 *thresh,* 354 *sheaf,* 390 *should,* 412 *she,* 555 *shoe,* 654 *shroud,* 661 *shower*; — R. J. Lloyd, *Northern English,* Leipz. 1899, under the words *shepherd, shall,* and *ashamed,* p. 67; *vanish* and *worship,* p. 69; *fellowship* and *shouldst,* p. 71; *shew,* inf., p. 73; *perish,* p. 75; *childish,* p. 79, *English,* p. 81; — A. Hargreaves, *Dialect of Adlington, Lanc.,* Angl. Forschungen 13, Heidelberg 1904, pp. 71, 112.

β) Ags. *sc*.

In the works of Richard Rolle Ags. *sc* shows a development different from that which it followed in the North Proper. (The auxiliary *shall* is written *sh*, *sch* [= *š*] and *sc* [= hard *s*].) Medially and finally the writing is also consistent.[1]) In the works represented by **MS. Galba E IX** and **MS. Univ. Cbr. Dd V 64** the writing is always *sh* (*sch*, *ssh*, *ssch*). The Ags. suffix *-isc* — as in the case of the Fr. suffix *-is* — shows both writings: — **Epistles:** *Inglisch*, p. 29; — **P. C.:** *Ynglese*, l. 336; *Inglis*, l. 2658; *Inglys*, ll. 2764, 6713, 3560; *Ynglis*, l. 5808; *Ynglys*, l. 7207 (Harl.); *Inglise*, l. 9548; *worldismen*, l. 1085; by the side of *Inglishe*, l. 1205; *worldysshe*, l. 931; *worldisshe*, ll. 940, 951, 955, 1066, 1120; *worldesshe*, l. 1065; *worldishmen*, l. 1077. Only one writing is fixed in rhyme: *Inglys : specifys* (Hardly a pure rhyme.), **P. C.**, l. 3560. This rhyme and the rhymes *fyssch : perysscb*, **P. C.**, l. 7597 (Harl.); *flesshe* : *nesshe*, **P. C.**, ll. 615, 3111; and *flesshe* : *freshe*, **P. C.**, l. 1253, however, when considered in connection with the fact that the two writings do not rhyme with each other, enable us to conclude that the parallel between the writings of the Fr. suffix *-is* and the Ags. suffix *-isc* is complete, — that the two signs *-ish* and *-is* represented two different sounds, which were felt to be distinct and were kept apart accordingly.

In the **Sawley Monk's Castle of Love (MS. Egerton)** — which comes from Rolle's neighborhood and shows both writings of the Fr. suffix — Ags. *sc* is written *s* in the auxiliary *shall*,

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[1]) *sk* is represented by *sch* in *eschape* (Mod. Engl. 'escape'), inf., Epistles, p. 15; P. C., ll. 2678, 6800 — as in the Northern C. M., MS. Vespasian — and in *schalded* (Mod. Engl. 'scalded'), P. C., l. 7133. It is a question whether or not the spelling *sc*, *sch* in the Norse loan-words represents a process of anglicization such as occurred in *shatter* beside *scatter*. — Cf. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English*, p. 4, Footnote 3, and p. 10. Hard *s* is represented by *sc* in *tretisce*, P. C., l. 343; in *gescce* (Mod. Engl. 'guess'), inf., P. C., ll. 3934, 7106, 7553; in *gesce*, ps. sbj. 3 sg., P. C., l. 7728; in *gesced*, p. p., P. C., ll. 4340, 7665; in *rychesce : gesce*, inf., P. C., ll. 7826, 9175; and in *stresced*, p. p., P. C., ll. 8001, 8546.

— otherwise *sh, sch,* [1]) initially, [2]) medially, [3]) and finally, [4]) as well as in the suffix. [5]) The single rhyme *fische*: *this*, l. 719, may be due to the fact that the original came from Robert of Brunne's country, the N-E. Midland, where, as we share see, both developments, *š* and *s*, of Latin and of Ags. *sc* existed side by side.

γ) The Modern Dialect.

In the modern dialect Rolle's two distinct forms for both suffixes have been leveled out [6]), but the old voiceless *s* form of the auxiliary *shall* has survived, — in fact, prevailed.

c) The North-East Midland Border-Zone: Robert of Brunne.

α) The Rhymes.

In the N-E. Midland Border-Zone — as in the neighboring Southern North Border-Zone — both writings of the Fr. suffix *-is* occur in rhyme; but the rhymes show the two types *-ish* and *-is* rhyming with each other. The purest specimen of the N-E. Midland is the **Lambeth MS.** of **Robert of Brunne's Chronicle,** scribe and author being from this neighborhood. This monument shows the following rhymes: — *abaischt*: *trayst* (= 'to win over', < *traire*) in the **Lambeth MS.,** ll. 13242, 13913 beside *betraischt*: *abaischt*, l. 5061, *by-traischt* : *abayscht*, l. 7888, and *abayscht*: *trayscht* (Mod. Engl. 'tray', 'betray'), l. 5460; — in the **Petyt MS.**; *obayst* : *trayst*, l. 13242; *betraist* : *obaist*, l. 5061; *be traist*: *o beist*, l. 7888; and *obaist* : *traist*, l. 5460. The rhyme *abaischt*: *trayst* shows type *-ish* rhyming with type *-is*.

β) Ags. *sc*.

The Ags. suffix *-isc*, written *-ish* (MS. Petyt, *-is*), also occurs in rhyme with hard *s* — *Englische* (MS. Petyt, *Englis*) : *þis* (pron.),

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[1]) *sk* is represented by *sch* in *eschape* (Mod. Engl. 'escape'), l. 934.

[2]) The only examples are in the word *show*, written *sch* and *sh*.

[3]) *fisches*, l. 715.

[4]) *fiscħ*, l. 604, *flesch*, l. 467 etc., *fleschly*, l. 802, *wascħ*, l. 437 etc., *wescħ*, pt. 3 sg., l. 810.

[5]) *englische*, l. 1.

[6]) Cf. Wright, *Engl. Dial. Dicty.*, under the words *finish, flourish, fretished, perish, plenish, replenish, skirmish,* and *English, mannish* (all Yorksh.), *sharpish, tightish.*

l. 16602; *Englische* (MS. Petyt, *Inglis*): *Ys* (ps. 3 sg. of *be*), l. 16699; *Frankisch* : *þis* (Pron., sing.), l. 4102. (Also, in MS. *Petyt*: — *Inglis* : *is*, ll. 79, 109). Moreover, not only in the suffix, but also in stem position does Ags. *sc*, written *sh*, rhyme with hard *s*: — *y-wys* (adv.): *dische* (Mod. Engl. 'dish'), l. 16087, *fresche* (MS. Petyt, *fresse*): *hardinesse*, l. 1566, *fresche* : *gras*, l. 4386, *fresche* : *lesse*, l. 9873 [1]) by the side of *wasche* : *dasche*, l. 11186, *asche* : *lasche* (Mod. Engl. 'lash', 'blow'), l. 12438 — also *lusched* L. (*lussed* P.) (= 'loosened' < Ags. *lysan*, *leosan*): *tofrusched* L. (*frussed* P.) (= 'broke down', pt. 3 sg.), l. 2977 — and *fresse* (Mod. Engl. 'fresh'): *destresse* (MS. Petyt, *at stresse*), l. 3347, *fresse* : *prowesse*, l. 5682. For Ags. *sc* elsewhere in the chronicle — initially and medially, as well as finally — *-sch* is consistently the writing, as far as variants are given in Furnivall's Edition. [2])

We might conclude from this material that *sch* in both the Fr. and Ags. suffixes and in *dish* and *fresh* is a diacritical variant of hard *s*, but for the fact that the rhyming is frequently marred by assonance. The most frequent assonances are *-a/-erd*: *-a/-ert*: — *Northward* : *part*, l. 15536, *stywarde* : *part*, l. 10988, *perd* : *pouert*, l. 3842, *ferd* (= 'afraid') : *Numbert* (Ms. Petyt, *Humbert*), l. 1998. The only other conspicouous instances are *warant* : *chasand* (MS. Petyt, *chasant*), l. 1506; *riden*, pf. pl.: *smyten*, p. p., l. 16637; *blyue* : *swyþe*, l. 2518. Although the

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[1]) In MS. Petyt, *š* rhymes with hard *s* only once: — *frusse* (*frosche*, L) : *crusche*, l. 2945.

[2]) In MS. Petyt, *English* is written *-i/-ysch(e)* forty-one times out of forty-four. The remaining three instances are written *Englys*. *Frankish* is written *-i/-ysch(e)* in all nine instances. The first scribe of MS. Petyt writes *Inglis* fifteen times, *Inglysch* once (l. 5), and *Frankis*. The second scribe writes *Frankish*, *English* with *-i/-ysch(e)* until l. 15272, then with *-is*.

Interesting representations of the *š* sound in Fr. derivatives are *scheltroun* (= 'a line of soldiers', < O. F. *eschele* = 'bataillon'), l. 3512, and L., l. 4657; *eschel*, l. 13340, and L., l. 13366; *eschele*, l. 13383; *mareschals*, l. 11179; *marchalsye* L., *marchaucie* P. (= 'chief power' < O. F. *mareschauchie*, a stable-forge, l. 7102).

schape L., *scape* P. (Mod. Engl. 'escape'), inf., l. 9230, occur by the side of *ascape*, inf., l. 9856.

appearance of assonance nullifies the value of such rhymes as *abaischt* : *trayst*, *Englische* : *þis*, and *fresh* : *lesse*, rhymes like *abaischt* : *betraischt* and *wasche* : *dasche*, by the side of *fresse*: *destresse* and *fresse* : *prowesse* show the existence together of both developments, *š* and *s*, of Latin and of Ags. *sc* and point to similar co-existence of both types, *-iš* and *-is*, of the Fr. and the Ags. suffixes.

The influence of originals from this neighborhood upon foreign scribes is shown in the appearance of *Englys*, ll. 4150, 4165, *englys*, l. 9496, and *frankys*, l. 78, in the southern copies of Robert's **Handling Sin,** by the side of *englyssh*, ll. 41, 44, 78, 8625, *englyssh*, l. 74, *englysh* (MS. Bodl., *englysshe*) l. 1365, *Englysshe*, l. 8598. (The suffix does not occur in Robert's **Meditations.**) Perhaps the neighborhood of Robert's district accounts for the form *Enngliss* in **Orrm,** l. 3055 (This is the only *-is* writing, it is true, in over two hundred occurrences of the suffix, but Orrm was an exceptionally consistent speller.) [1]) and in **Havelok:** *Englis*, l. 254, by the side of *Englishe*, ll. 2766, 2795 and *Henglishe*, l. 2945.

The occurrences of Ags. *sc* in the Northern Midland (N-W. Midl.?) border monuments, **Sir Gawain** and the **Early English Alliterative Poems,** [2]) which show the prevalence of the *-iss* writing of the Fr. suffix *-is*, do not enable us to group these monuments into a zone.

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[1]) Weyhe — *Zur Palatalisierung von in- und auslautendem* sk *im Altenglischen*, Engl. Stud. 39, pp. 161, 180 — thinks that *sk* in the forms *Judisskenn*, *Judewisske*, beside *Judewisshe; mennisske*, *menisscleȝȝe*, *menniscnesse*, beside *mennissh;* and *Pontisske* beside *Pontiwisshe* is a late instance of the preservation of Ags. *sc* unpalatalized in the neighborhood of dark vowels. The dark vowel in this case is *a* in *-ana*, the starred gen. plur. of the nominalized adjectives which were used as names of peoples, like *para Deniscana.*

Biskopp in Orrm may be a learned form or it may be due to Scandinavian influence. Cf. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan Words*, p. 136.

[2]) Apparently a Southern scribe and Midland originals near the Northern border. Cf. this investigation, p. 17, Note 2.

The Ags. suffix *-isc* is written *-isch*, and *-ysch.*[1]) *Sch* is also the writing elsewhere — in the auxiliary *shall*, as well as initially,[2]) medially, and finally[3]) — with the exception of *fres* (Mod. Engl. 'fresh'), Gawain, l. 728.

γ) The Modern Dialect.

In the modern dialect Robert's two writings of both the Fr. and the Ags. suffixes have disappeared; in fact, the *-is* form itself has been leveled out.[4])

2. Gloucestershire.

a) Rhymes.

In attempting to establish the phonetic value of the Gloucestershire *-iss* writing, the great handicap is the lack of rhymes. The Fr. suffix *-is* (which is written *-iss* in **Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle** — at least, in MS. Caligula and in that part of the Harl. MS. written by the second scribe) does not occur in rhyme position.

b) Ags. *sc.*

The Ags. suffix *-isc* is written *-is(s)* with almost equal consistency. The single variation in some fifty occurrences, however, *Englich*, l. 4802 of MS. Caligula, is important. On the face of it, it cannot represent the pronunciation *Englis* with hard *s.* Taken in connection with Ags. *sc* in other positions, it becomes

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[1]) Sir Gawain: *aluisch* ('elfish'), l. 681; *frenkysch* (= 'French'?, 'frank'?, 'jocular'?), l. 1116; *runisch* (= 'strange', 'fierce', 'rough' < Ags. *renisc* = 'hidden', < Ags. *run* = 'mystery'), l. 457; *ru[n]yschly*, l. 432; *runisch-ly*, l. 304. E. E. Allit. P.: *ledisch* (= 'national' < S. Sax. *leodisce*), Cleanness, l. 1556; *renischche* (cf. *runisch*, above), Cleanness, l. 96; *runisch*, Cleanness, l. 1545; *renyschly*, Cleanness, l. 1724; *runyschly*, Patience, l. 190.

[2]) *sk* is represented by *sc* in *scylful*, E. E. Allit. P., Cleanness, l. 1148, by the side of *skylly*, Cleanness, l. 529; and *skyl*, Cleanness, l. 569; and *skyl*, Pearl, l. 312.

Noteworthy is the writing *skyfte* (< Ags. *sciftan* = 'to divide', Mod. Engl. 'shift'), inf., E. E. Allit. P., Pearl, l. 569. This is the only instance of this writing throughout my many instances of the verb's occurrence.

[3]) The writing *ssche* occurs once, *fissche*, E. E. Allit. P., Patience, l. 262.

[4]) Cf. Wright, *Engl. Dial. Dicty.*, under the words *English*, *Spanish*, *knavish* and *punish*, *punishment.*

even more significant. A similar spelling is found in *fichȝ* (Mod. Engl. *fishes*), MS. Caligula, l. 14, among twelve instances of the same word with the *ss* spelling. (*Fichs* occurs three times among the variants of MS. Trinity College, Cbr. R. 4. 26 — ab. 1400 — ll. 486, 494, 5352; *flechs*, once, l. 4227). This MS. — to judge from the variants recorded — reproduces Ags. *sc* by the writing *sch*.) Initially two unquestionable *-ish* writings occur: *schedde*, pt. 3 sg. (Mod. Engl. 'shed'), MS. Caligula, l. 1064, by the side of seven occurrences of the same verb with the *ss* spelling; *scholde* (pt. 3 sg. of *shall*), MS. Caligula, l. 1067. The writing *sch* for Ags *sc* does occur, but not with frequency sufficient to warrant its being regarded as a variant writing. It is more probable that it represents the scribe's inadvertent substitution of either the symbol of the original in place of his own symbol for the same sound, or his own symbol for that of the original. That either author or scribe knew the sound *š* and wrote it *ss* is certain. Pabst [1]) located the sound under that symbol in the word *marshal*, remarking at the same time that in all other cases it is doubtful whether the writing *ss* represents *š* or voiceless *s*. The examples that enabled Pabst to locate the sound are: *mareschal*, l. 9936; *marschal*, l. 10846; *willam þe mareschal*, l. 10081; *willam þe marschal*, ll. 10566, 10678; *willam marchal*, l. 10652, (again *ch* for *sh*, as in *fichȝ* above); *erl marschal*, ll. 10678, 11795; *Willam þe erl marschal*, l. 10733; *Richard þe marschal*, l. 10782; *richard þe marschal*, ll. 10757, 10792, 10801; *Richard þe marchal*, l. 10807; *Richard þe marsschal*, l. 10765; *gilebert þe marschal*, l. 10904; by the side of *Richard þe marssal*, l. 10797. (Perhaps its recurrence as a title helped to keep the form intact.) A further consideration of proper names may not be amiss. At first sight the scribe's writing *ssenche*, ll. 10920, 10945, 11036, for the name of Queen Eleanor's sister, Sanchia of Provence, would indicate that *ss* represented hard *s*; but in the variants of MS. B. M. Additional (1390—1400), l. 19677, the name is written *schenche*,

[1]) *Die Sprache der mittelenglischen Reimchronik Robert of Gloucester.* Berlin 1889, § 153.

which indicates that the initial *s* had become a palatal spirant, probably by association with the final palatal sound in the word. (The shires are consistently spelled with *ss*, — *Hampssire*, *Wiltessire*, etc. — as are the names of less known places such as *sserston* — Sherston, Wiltshire, — ll. 6151, 6170, 11109, and *ssirebourne* — Sherborne, Dorset, — ll. 5265, 5276.)

In MS. Harleian 201 the first scribe uses *sch* throughout — in the Ags. suffix (six occurrences), the auxiliary *shall*, the suffix *-ship* (*frenschipe*, p. 47), and in initial, medial, and final positions. The writing of the second scribe, however, parallels that of MS. Caligula. In the Ags. suffix (thirty-four occurrences), the auxiliary *shall*, the 'shires' (also in the names of less-known places — *Ssyrebourne*, p. 262; *Ssaftebury*, p. 284; *Sserston*, p. 303, *Ssresbury*, p. 448) and in medial and final positions the writing is *ss* without a single exception. Initially, however, two confusing exceptions occur. The first is *schort* = 'short', p. 412, beside *ssortlyche*, p. 181. The weight that this form might lend to the supposition that *sch* and *ss* are merely variant writings is more than offset by the second exception. This is the form *selde* = 'shield', p. 185, beside *sseld*, p. 308, and *sselde*, pp. 185, 207, 437,[1]) which indicates strongly that the writing *ss* represents hard *s*. The form *schort*, in consequence, would be a scribal substitution.

In fact, when all the evidence in favor of the *ss* writing's being a diacritical variant of *sch* is mustered — to wit, all traces of the existence of the *š* sound in the monument: *English*, *fichz*, *schedde*, *scholde*, and *marschal* in MS. Caligula and *schort* in MS. Harleian, — it does not outweigh the evidence of the writing itself; it does not explain why *ss* — if it be a diacritical variant of *sh*, *sch* — is not used consistently as such, instead of its being often employed to represent hard *s*, — p. e., *hardissi*, beside *hardysi*, and other similar cases in MS. Caligula and *mysseles* = 'leapers', p. 435, beside *meseles*, p. 434; *hassen* = 'asses', p. 404; *blysse*,

[1]) Hard *s* is represented by *ssc* in *ssceten* = 'shoot', inf., p. 395 (beside *sset*, pt. 3 sg., and *ssete*, inf., p. 418, and *ssote*, pt. 3 pl., p. 263) and in *sstortlyche* — for *sscortlyche?*, p. 446.

p. 438; *Somerssete*, p. 301; etc. in MS. Harleian. Briefly, there is nothing to prove that *ss*, *s* represented anything other than the hard *s* sound. We must conclude, then, that the Ags. suffix *-isc*, together with Ags. *sc* in all positions, and the Fr. suffix developed the hard *s* sound in this, the Gloucestershire, zone.

Ags. *sc* does not occur in rhyme, either in the Early South English Legendary — the other monument which was written in Gloucestershire (probably in the abbey of Gloucester.) [1] — or in William of Palerme — translated from the French at command of the Earl of Hereford, by a S-W. Southern scribe.

The suffix is written *-isch(e)* and *-ichs* (The latter occurs but once.) in the **E. S-E. Legdy.**, [2] *-ysch* in the single occurrence of it in **Wm. of Pal.**[3]

The auxiliary *shall* is written *sch* in the **E. S-E. Legdy.** [4] (There is one exception, — *scolde*, p. 26 l. 7.); *sch* and *ch* (The latter occurs in the first person only.), in **Wm. of Pal.** [5]

Initially Ags. *sc* is written *sch* and *sc* (*Scame* occurs once, p. 262 l. 62.) in the **E. S-E. Legendary** [6] and *sch* and

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[1]) It is even probable that Robert, himself, wrote some of the legends. Cf. C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, p. XLIV.

[2]) *englische*, p. 73 l. 79, etc.; *Englisch*, p. 141 l. 1220, etc.; *grickische*, p. 472 l. 345; *mannische*, p. 264 l. 108; *uplondischse*, p. 57 l. 109; by the side of *Englichs*, p. 448 l. 586.

[3]) *englysch*, l. 168.

[4]) Frequent is the occurrence of the writing *ichulle* (p. 107 l. 39, etc.), *icholde* (p. 107 l. 36, etc.) in the first person singular, — so written, together with the pronoun — by the side of *schulle* (p. 100 l. 267, etc.) and *scholde* (p. 20 l. 20, etc.). The double writing is not confined to any one legend or any group of legends. (In fact, the orthography throughout the collection is remarkably uniform.) *ichchulle* and *ichulle* (i. e., 'ich chulle'?) occurs in one legend four times — *ichchulle*, p. 462 l. 6, *ichulle*, p. 462 l. 9; p. 465 l. 114; p. 471 l. 307.

[5]) The writing *ch* for the auxiliary occurs also in Wm. of Pal.: *chold*, pt. 3 sg., l. 2014 by the side of *schold*, pt. 3 sg., l. 101, etc. and *schuld*, pt. 3 sg., l. 127, etc.

[6]) *sk* is represented by *sch* in *scholar* (Mod. Engl. 'scholar'), p. 58 l. 154, *schole* (Mod. Engl. 'school'), p. 112 ll. 200, 210 (by the side of *scole*, p. 74 l. 112, p. 113 l. 219); *schabbe* (Mod. Engl. 'scab'), p. 62 l. 309; *schourges* (Mod. Engl. 'scourges'), p. 97 l. 168; *schulchone* (Mod. Engl. 'scutcheon'),

ch [1]) in **Wm. of Pal.** [2])

Finally the writing is *sch* and *ch* [3]) in the **E. S-E. Legdy.** [4]) and *sch* and *sh* (a single instance of each writing: *fresch*, l. 3640, and *fresh*, l. 90) in **Wm. of Pal.** [5])

Medially the writing is *sch* [6]) in both monuments. [7])

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p. 194 ll. 34, 36; *schraped* (Mod. Engl. 'scraped'), p. 270 l. 328, *a-schapie*, inf., p. 137 l. 1076.

Hard *s* is written *sch* in *schuch* (Mod. Engl. 'such'), p. 283 l. 195; *schwche*, p. 313 l. 487; and *sc* in *blesci* (Mod. Engl. 'bless'), inf., p. 12 l. 366.

[1]) *Chortly*, l. 2035; *chamly*, l. 2124; *che* ('she'), l. 2317 (The usual writing is *ȝhe*, l. 119, etc., — also *sche*, l. 69, etc.); *chipmen* ('shipmen'), l. 2811.

[2]) *sk* is represented by *sch* in the following words: — Mod. Engl. 'escape': p. p., *schaped*, ll. 1282, 2537, 2820, *schapit*, l. 2151, *a-schapet*, l. 2549; inf., *schape*, l. 2749, *a-schape*, l. 3013; — Mod. Engl. 'scathe': *schaþles*, l. 1855 (by the side of *scaþeles*, l. 2749, *scaþli*, l. 2794): — Mod. Engl. 'skin': *schinnes*, l. 2420 (by the side of *skynnes*, l. 1688, and *skinnes*, ll. 1698, 1711); — Mod. Engl. 'score' (as in 'four score'): *schore*, ll. 132, 2540, 4195; — Mod. Engl. 'scorn': *schorned*, l. 554; — Mod. Engl. 'discover': *deschuuer*, inf., l. 3192.

sk is written *ch* in *a-chape* (Mod. Engl. 'escape'), inf., l. 1248; *a-schape*, ll. 1671, 1855, and in *a-chaped*, p. p., l. 2805.

[3]) *Flechs*, p. 31 l. 62, etc. and *fichs*, p. 230 l. 380, etc. (by the side of *flesch*, p. 4 l. 102, etc.; *fisch*, p. 231 l. 416, etc.; *wusch*, pt. 3 sg., p. 66 l. 423, etc., and *Asch*, p. 350 l. 169.)

[4]) *k* is written *chche* in *pluchche* (Mod. Engl. 'pluck'), p. 105 l. 135.

[5]) *k* is written *ch* in Mod. Engl. 'work': — *worche*, inf., ll. 2911, 3554, 3990, 4379, 4382, 4412, 5151; *wirche*, ll. 3925, 4350, 5427; ps. 3 sg., *worcheþ*, l. 3568; *wircheþ*, l. 5520.

Hard *s* is written *sch* in *ferscheli* (Mod. Engl. 'fiercely'), l. 3426.

[6]) Also *schsch* in the E. S-E. Legdy.: *wuschschen*, ps. 3 pl., p. 10 l. 303 and *fischsches*, p. 10 l. 302.

[7]) Metathesis is the rule in *ask*; *axede*, pt. 3 sg., E. S-E. Legdy., p. 6 l. 189, etc., — numerous instances. These examples of metathesis < Ags. *ascian* in connection with the following from the E. S-E. Legdy.: *eschte*, pt. 3 sg., p. 18 l. 581, *echsten*, pt. 3 pl., p. 68 l. 24; *eschte*, pt. 1 sg., p. 237 l. 627 and *esche*, inf., p. 444 l. 473 (to the W. Sax. *aescian*) serve to illustrate Weyhe's article (Engl. Stud. 39, p. 161 ff.) on the preservation of Ags. *sc* (*x*, in methathesis) in the neighborhood of dark vowels and its palatalization in the neighborhood of light vowels.

The methathesis of *sk* is written *cc* in *Eccetre* (*Exeter*), p. 168 l. 2164.

In the other monument, then, which was written in Robert of Gloucester's own home — and probably, in part, by him — as well as in the neighboring Wm. of Palerme, there is no sign of Ags. *sc* having developed to hard *s*, unless we count as such the single instance of the auxiliary spelled *solde*, as among numberless instances of the same spelled with *sch.*

c) The Modern Dialect.

If the Fr. suffix *-iss* or Ags. *sc* — either in the suffix or in stem position — ever developed hard *s* forms in Gloucestershire, they have not survived in the modern dialect.[1])

3. Kent.

a) Kent Proper.

α) The Rhymes.

The remaining *-iss* zone, Kent, also presents a crux. As in Gloucestershire, there are no rhymes for either suffix. The condition which prevailed in Kent, however, is probably reflected by the feminine rhyme *norysseþ* : *entycyþ* in Wm. of Shoreham (a Southern Copy of a W. Kentish original), p. 112 l. 383.

β) Ags. *sc.*

In the purest type of this dialect, the **Ayenbite,** Ags. *sc* is everywhere written *ss.*[2]) Danker[3]) apparently considers that the sound here represented is hard *s.* Kluge[4]) says this *ss* is merely another writing for *š.* The palatal character of the sound, he thinks, is shown by the form *esse* (which he tran-

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sk is apparently represented by *sch* in *Dam(a)sche* ('Damascus'), p. 30 l. 28 and p. 190 l. 9.

[1]) Cf. Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation*, vol. V, p. 67 (The test words are Nos. 24 *shame*, 56 *wash*, 174 *ash*, 218 *sheep*, 284 *thresh*, 354 *sheaf*, 390 *should*, 412 *she*) and Wright, *Engl. Dial. Dicty.*, under the words *perishmen*, *English*, *punishment*, *Spanish.*

[2]) The Ags. suffix *-isc* occurs three times: *englis*, p. 211; *englisse*, p. 5; *engliss*, p. 262.

[3]) O. Danker, *Die Laut- und Flexionslehre der mittelkentischen Denkmäler.* Strassburg 1879, p. 20.

[4]) Paul's Grdr.[2] I, p. 994.

scribes as *ěše*, < Ags. *ascian*) in Robt. of Glouc.; *esche* in Wm. of Sh., and *esssse* (for *asche*, Mod. Engl. 'ashes') in the Ayenb. In these forms, he says, *e* can be accounted for, only as the umlaut of older *ā* and *ă* by a following palatal sound, — the sound *š* or a sound closely related to it. According to Weyhe,[1]) the *e* in these forms — *esse* in Robt. of Glouc. and *esssse* and *wesse* in the Ayenb. — is not the result of a *š* umlaut of Ags. *ā* and *ă*, because the *e* does not come from Ags. *ā* and *ă* but from W. Sax. *ǣ* and *æ̆* in *æscan*, *æsce* and *wæscan*, later Kentish *escan*, etc.

The writing for Ags. *sc*, then, is *ss*. Though the sound thus represented is not fixed in rhyme, there is nothing to show that the writing represents any other than the hard *s* sound. On the other hand the same writing is used freely to represent a sound which is undoubtedly hard *s*: p. e., *sseddest* (pt. 3 sg. of 'say'), p. 1; *ssed* (Mod. Engl. 'seed'), p. 95; *sslaȝt* (ps. 3 sg. of 'slay'), p. 192; etc.

Unfortunately the same determining factor — the rhymes — is lacking in the copies of Kentish originals, the Old Kentish Sermons and Kentish Homilies,[2]) in the neighboring S-E. Southern Vices and Virtues (an Old English original), and in William of Shoreham. These monuments offer only the writings of Ags. *sc*.

In the suffix, Ags. *sc* — represented by *s(s)* in the **Ayenb.** — is written *-isshe* in the **O. Kent. Serm.**, *-isc(e)* in the **Kent. Hom. I**, *-isc* in the **V. and V.**, and *-ish* in **Wm. of Sh.**

In the auxiliary *shall*, Ags. *sc* — represented by *ss* in the **Ayenb.** — is written *sc* in the **Kent. Hom. I** and in the **V. and V.**,[3]) and by *sch* in **Wm. of Sh.** It does not occur in the **O. Kent. Serm.**

Initially, Ags. *sc* — represented by *ss* in the **Ayenb.** — is written *ss* in the **O. Kent. Serm.** (*ssipe* = Mod. Engl. 'ship', p. 32), *sc* in the

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[1]) *Zur Palatisierung von in und auslautendem* sk *im Altenglischen*, Engl. Stud. 39, p. 185.

[2]) The so-called "Kentish Homilies II" is a Midland (S-E. Midland?) copy of a W. Sax. original.

[3]) *scolde*, pt. 1 sg., p. 5 l. 16, p. 13 l. 10, p. 53 l. 16, p. 55 l. 17.

Kent. Hom. I and in the **V. and V.,**[1]) and *sch* in **Wm. of Sh.**[2])

The suffix *-ship* — represented by *ss* in the **Ayenb.** — is written *sc* and *s* in the **Kent. Hom. I,** *sc* in the **V. and V.,** and *sch* in **Wm. of Sh.**

Finally, the writing — *ss* in the **Ayenb.** — is *s* in the **O. Kent. Serm.** (*flesliche*, p. 27, and *fles*, p. 34); *sc* in the **Kent. Hom. I** (A single instance: *flesc*, p. 243.); *sch*, *sc*, and *s* in the **V. and V.** (*flasch*, p. 53 l. 1, and *flœsch*, p. 97 l. 23; *flesc*, p. 21 l. 9, p. 53 l. 13, p. 109 l. 32; and *flesliches*, p. 43 l. 5); *sch* in **Wm. of Sh.** (*nesche*, p. 140 l. 302; *wesch*, ps. sbj. 3 sg., p. 82 l. 98; *wescht*, pt. 3 sg., p. 15 l. 391, p. 54 l. 1519).

Medially the writing — *ss* in the **Ayenb.** — is *sc* and *(s)sc* in the **O. Kent, Serm.**[3]) (*flesce*, p. 28, and *flessce*, p. 28); *sc* and *ss* in the **Kent. Hom. I.** (*flesces*, p. 243); *sc* and *sch* in the **V. and V.,**[4]) and *s(s)ch* in **Wm. of Sh.**[5])

These monuments, which have so many traces of Kentish influence, show also a faint reflection of the Kentish writing *ss*, according to the brief survey above: namely, for the auxiliary *shall*, in the Kent. Hom. I and in the V. and V.; for the initial position in the O. Kent. Serm.; for the final position in the O. Kent. Serm. and in the V. and V.; and for the medial position in the Kent. Hom. I. Wm. of Sh. shows the least Kentish

[1]) *sc* in *schiften* (< Ags. *sciftan*), — *sciftest*, ps. 2 sg., p. 37 l. 20; *iscift*, p. p., p. 37, l. 21.

[2]) *sh* and *sch* in *schiften* (< Ags. *sciftan*), — *shifte*, ps. 3 sg., p. 26 l. 728; *to-schift*, p. p., p. 26 ll 715, 721.

[3]) Hard *s* is written *sc* in *blisce* (Mod. Engl. 'bless'), p. 28, etc.

[4]) Metathesis of *sk* occurs in *nexce*, p. 63 l. 26, *nexse*, p. 87 l. 29. Hard *s* is written *sc* in *iblesced* (Mod. Engl. 'bless'), p. p., p. 13 l. 7; *blesci*, imper. 2 sg., p. 13 l. 19; *iblescede*, vbl. adj., p. 51 l. 18; *iblesced*, vbl. adj., p. 51 l. 27; *blescien*, inf., p. 83 l. 30.

[5]) Exceptional are the forms *kes(ch)te*, pt. 3 sg. (Mod. Engl. 'cast'): *lest*, p. 9 l. 228; *lesschte*, pt. 3 sg. (Mod. Engl. 'let', 'permit'): *wesschte*, p. 50 l. 1391.

The rhyme *wesche* : *esche* (Mod. Engl. 'ashes'), p. 104 l. 155, shows forms which Kluge thought due to *š* umlaut of Ags. *ā* and *ă*. Cf. This investigation, Ch. IV pp. 43, 44.

influence. As regards the phonetic value of the sound represented by *ss* the results are not decisive.

γ) Modern Dialect.

All traces of a Kentish hard *s* have disappeared in the modern dialect.[1])

b) The Kentish Border-Zone.

α) Rhymes.

Rhymes of the Fr. suffix are lacking; but the verb *frash, frush*, from *froissier* — the stem-ending of which probably undergoes the same development as that of the Fr. suffix[2]) — occurs three times in rhyme, each time rhyming with hard *s*, — **A. and M., Auch.:** *to frusten : losten* (= 'strike'), l. 8118; *frusten : lusten*, l. 8784; *frust : dust* (= 'touch'), l. 9436.

β) Ags. *sc*.

In Rich. C. de L. and in K. Alis. the Ags. suffix *-isc* is written *-is*, and the phonetic value of the sound here represented is fixed in the following rhymes: **Rich. C. de L.:** *Englis : ywis*, ll. 1893, 5991; *Englis : marys*, l. 6037; *Englis : is*, l. 6761;[3]) **K. Alis.:** *Englys : gwis*, l. 6436. In **K. Alis.** also, Ags. *sc* in stem position rhymes with hard *s*: — *dasse* (Mod. Engl. 'dash') : *lass*, l. 2837, *fyss* (Mod. Engl. 'fish') : *nys*, l. 5198; *fyss : iwys*, ll. 4968, 5774, 6174, 6354, 6586, 6594.[4])

A. and M. also shows Ags. *sc* in rhyme. It is not, however,

[1]) Cf. Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation*, vol. V, pp. 139, 144. The test words are p. 139 Nos.: 174 *ash*, 56 *wash*, 218 *sheep*, 390 *should*, 412 *she* and p. 144, Nos.: 24 *shame*, 55 *ashes*, 218 *sheep*, 390 *she*; also Wright's *Engl. Dial. Dicty.* under the words *mannish, skirmish, Spanish*; also W. D. Parish and W. F. Shaw: *A Dictionary of the Kentish Dialect and Provincialisms in use in the County of Kent*, London 1887, under the words *chavish, dish-meat, dish-washer, she, sheep-gate, sheeps-treddles, sheer, shift, ship, shut-oft, shut-out, skarmish, workish*.

[2]) Other verbs that undergo the same analogical change in the stem are *quash* < *quasser*, *crush* < *croissir*, etc. The whole class is treated in Part II of this investigation.

[3]) Kölbing, Arthour and Merlin, p. XCIX. For the rhyme *fyssen : alyche*, l. 4619, Kölbing suggests *fyss : ywis*, because the rhyme as it stands seems impossible.

[4]) Kölbing, Arthour and Merlin, p. LXXXIX.

the suffix, but *sc* in stem position. (The suffix occurs freely out of rhyme and is written *-is*, *-isse*, and *-ische*.)[1] There are the following rhymes. Ags. *sc*, written *(s)s*, : hard *s*: — *ness* (= 'soft' < Ags. *hnesce*) : *pruesse*, l. 8165; *fles* (Mod. Engl. 'flesh'): *wes* (pt. 3 sg. of *be*), l. 591.[2] The rhyme *dasse* (Mod. Engl. 'dash') : *lasse* (Mod. Engl. 'leash'), l. 9125 is inconclusive, as are the examples of weak verbs which have the preterit ending *t*: — *frust* (*fruschen* = 'break') : *dust*, l. 9435; *ydast* (Mod. Engl. 'dashed') : *cast*, l. 2111; *dast* (Mod. Engl. 'dashed') : *alblast* (Mod. Engl. 'arbalast'), l. 7949; *daste* (Mod. Engl. 'dashed') : *brest*, l. 9700. (Out of rhyme position 'dash' is written chiefly *dasse* — rarely, *dasch* — throughout a large number of occurrences.) Also, there are the inconclusive rhymes *last* (Mod. Engl. 'lashed', 'struck') : *dast* (Mod. Engl. 'dashed'), ll. 7583, 8255, 9263 and *laiste* : *todaiste*, l. 9783, for which *dashed* and *lashed* could be written.[2] On the other hand Ags. *sc*, written *sch*, rhymes with hard *s* in *flesche* : *wes* (pt. 3 sg. of 'be'), l. 6397; *wesche* (Mod. Engl. 'wash') : *ywis*, l. 2583; *fisch* : *ywis*, l. 4113.[3] These rhymes would indicate that the sound in question was hard *s*, and the writing *(sch)*, merely a diacritical variant of *s*; but the presence of an unusually large number of assonances in the monument[4] makes it probable that these last examples are assonances also. Kölbing,[5] in concurrence with Danker and Reimann, points out that this change, Ags. *sc* to hard *s*, is specifically Kentish and that its presence in these monuments indicates the neighborhood of Kent.[6]

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[1] *uplondismen*, ll. 5077, 5271, 6776; *Inglisse*, l. 119; *Inglische*, l. 24.

[2] Kölbing, Arthour and Merlin, Altengl. Biblioth. IV, p. XXVI.

[3] Kölbing, Arthour and Merlin, p. XXVI.

[4] Kölbing, Arthour and Merlin, p. XXXV.

[5] Kölbing, Arthour and Merlin, p. LV.

[6] Hard *s* is written *sc* in a number of instances of *bliscen* (Mod. Engl. 'bless') recorded in Kölbing's glossary.

sk is represented by *sch* in *schourge* (Mod. Engl. 'scourge', 'whip'), sbs., l. 8445.

sk is represented by *sc* in *scippe* (Mod. Engl. 'skip', 'jump'), inf., l. 1159.

š is represented by *sch* in the Fr. derivative *eschele* (= 'a batallion of troops'), l. 7570.

I have failed to find Ags. *sc* in rhyme position (except the false rhyme *Englisse* : *speche*, G. of W., l. 3889) in the following monuments of the Auchinleck MS.: Guy of Warwick (French original); Speculum of Guy (S-E. Midl. original.); Bevis of Hampton (original from the border of the W. South and the S-E. South); Sir Tristem (Northern original); Amis and Amiloun, Roland and Vernagu, and Otuel (N-E. Midl. originals) The writings of Ags. *sc* follow.

The suffix is written *-is* and *isse* in **G. of W.**; (*-isch* in **Reinbr.**[1]); *-ische* and *-essh* in **B. of H.**[2]) It does not occur in the other monuments.

Initially (also in the suffixes *-isc* and *-ship*), Ags. *sc* is written *sch* (also *-ssch* in Otuel) in all the monuments except the Spec. of Guy, where *sh* is the writing.

Finally, Ags. *sc* is written *sh* in the **Spec. of Guy**;[3]) *sch* in **B. of H.**;[4]) and *ch* in **Otuel.**[5])

Medially, the writing is *sch*, *ssch* and *ss* (a single instance)[6]) in **G. of W.**; *sh* in the **Spec. of Guy**; and *sch* in **B. of H.** and **R. and V.** (a single instance.[7]))[8])

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[1]) *Englisse*, l. 3889; *Inglisse*, vs. 255 l. 9; *Inglis*, vs. 82 l. 4, vs. 111 l. 1, vs. 264 l. 10, vs. 270 l. 1; *Grekis*, vs. 171 l. 9; *Danis*, vs. 241 l. 11; *Dennisch*, Reinbr., vs. 17 l. 8, vs. 26 l. 12.

[2]) There is one instance of each of the following writings: *grikische*, l. 3859; *reynessh* (= 'Rhenish'), l. 2303.

[3]) *flesh*, ll. 531, 573.

[4]) *fisch*, l. 1799; *flesch*, l. 14 etc.; *fresh*, ll. 735, 4441.

[5]) *flechs*, ll. 132, 1217.

[6]) *flesse*, l. 3640 (by the side of *flessche*, l. 4704 and *flesche*, l. 6951, etc.; *fische*, vs. 198 l. 5; *fischeing*, pr. p, vs. 205 l. 8; and *fischer*,v s. 199 l. 7, etc.

[7]) *fisches*, l. 301.

[8]) Hard *s* is written *sc* in *bliscen* (Mod. Engl. 'bless') in A. & A.: *blisceing*, l. 127; *blisced*, pt. 3 pl., l. 344; *yblisced*, l. 1836; and in G. of W.: *blisced*, p.p., l. 2840: *blisceing*, l. 3408 (by the side of *blisseing*, p. 252 l. 8).

sk is written *sch* in A. & A.: *aschape*, inf., l. 2243; and in G. of W.: *aschaped*, vbl. adj., ll. 2829, 5499, 6046, 6370, 6376, 7030, 7151, *schaped*, p. p., ll. 5850, 6145, *Y-schaped*, l. 5858.

š is represented by *ch* in the Fr. derivative *marchal*, B. of H., Auch., ll. 3505, 3553. In both cases it rhymes with *schal*.

4. Summary.

In the North Proper the rhymes indicate the pronunciation *-is* (Hard *s*) for the French suffix. This indication is supported by the following evidence: first, by the development of the Ags. suffix *-isc* to *-is* (hard *s*), as well as by the development of Ags. *sc* to hard *s* in final position and in the auxiliary *shall*; secondly, by the remains — though scant — of a pronunciation *-is* (hard *s*) of both suffixes in the Modern dialect. The Fr. suffix *-iss*, then, had the sound *-is* (hard *s*), as did also the Ags. suffix *-isc* and Ags. *sc* in the auxiliary *shall* and in final position, and sometimes in medial position.

In the Southern North (Rich. Rolle's works) — where the Fr. and the Ags. suffixes are written both ways, *-iss* and *-ish* — *-iš* as the sound of the *-ish* type is fixed in rhyme for the Fr. suffix. The sound *-is* (hard *s*) for type *-iss* — although not fixed in any rhymes except those showing the preterit ending — is indicated by the fact that for the Ags. suffix also, this type is fixed in rhyme. We may conclude that the Fr. suffix (and the Ags. suffix as well) had both sounds *-is* (hard *s*) and *-iš* in this zone.

The N-E. Midland (The Lambeth MS. of Robert of Brunne's Chronicle) shows the double writing for both Fr. and Ags. suffixes, just as the Southern North does; but it has one peculiar feature of its own: — the two types rhyme with each other in the Fr. suffix; and in the Ags. suffix, type *-ish* rhymes with hard *s*. This would indicate that the writing *-ish* is a diacritical variant of the writing *-iss*, except for the fact that assonance is frequent in this MS. Ags. *sc* in final position is the determining factor here. Both developments, hard *s* and *š*, are fixed in rhyme. As everywhere else the writing of Ags. *sc* in final position parallels its writing in the Ags. suffix and the writing of the Fr. suffix, we may consider that the existence side by side of both sounds in Ags. *sc* in the N-E. Midland, is conclusive evidence of a similar existence in the Fr. and the Ags. suffix in this zone.

The monuments from the N-W. Midland (The E. E. Allit. P. and Sir Gawain) show no conclusive evidence. The writing of final Ags. *sc* in *fres* (Mod. Engl. *fresh*, — Gawain, l. 728) points to the coexistence of both developments, — hard *s* and *š*, *-is* and *-iš*.

The question of the phonetic value of the writing *-ss* for Ags. *sc* in MS. Caligula of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle and in the Ayenbite has been reopened by Weyhe's refutation of Kluge's theory that the existence of the *š* sound in Robert's Chronicle and in the Ayenbite is shown by forms — *esse* < Ags. *ascian* in the Chronicle, and *essse* (= 'ashes') and *wesse* (= 'wash') in the Ayenb. — in which *e* for *a* (*esse* for *asse*) can be accounted for only as an umlaut due to a following palatal sound, — presumably the sound *š*. The evidence gathered here does not settle the question except in so far as there is nothing in it which shows that the writing *ss* does not represent the hard *s* sound. On the other hand the writing *s* by the side of *ss*, for hard *s* — as in *ssed* ('= seed') in the Ayenbite — indicates that in both monuments *ss* is used to represent the hard *s* sound.

The Kentish border-zone shows *ss* for Ags. *sc* in the suffix and in stem position fixed in rhyme with hard *s*. The frequent writing *sch* for Ags. *sc* in the suffix and in stem position does not occur in rhyme except in Arthour and Merlin. Here it rhymes with hard *s*. This would indicate that it is merely a variant writing for the hard *s* sound, except for the fact that assonance is frequent in this monument. Whereas the phonetic value of the writing *ss* for Ags. *sc* in the suffix and in stem position is fixed by rhyme, the phonetic value of the writing *-sch* is not so fixed. We have only the analogy of the North Midland border-zones — where both sounds, hard *s* and *š* exist side by side in the Fr. and the Ags. suffixes and in Ags. *sc*. This analogy, however, though not a proof, is a strong indication that in this, the S-E. Southern, border-zone both types of both suffixes existed side by side.

The phonetic value of the writing *-iss* for the Fr. suffix (and the phonetic value of *ss* for Ags. *sc* in both suffix and stem

positions) is established as hard *s* for the North Proper and for two of the North-Midland border-zones, — namely, the Southern North and the N-E. Midland. Though not conclusive, the evidence also indicates the hard *s* sound for this writing in Kent and in Gloucestershire and in the Kentish border-zone and the North-Midland border-zone known as the N-W. Midland.

We may conclude, then, that wherever it occurs, the writing *-iss*, *-is* for the Fr. suffix (and the writing *ss* for Ags. *sc* in both suffix and stem positions) represents the hard *s* sound.

V. The Suffix *-ise* (voiced *s*).

The question as to the existence of a variant *-ise* (voiced *s*) to type *-iss* arises from the inconsistency in the writing of the latter.[1]) In the majority of cases it is written *-is* finally, *-iss* internally before a vowel; but the exceptions to this usage are a large minority; — for instance: — infinitives in *-ise(n)*, *-isi(n)*: Ayenb. — *norrisi*, l. 154; *norici*, l. 9 (by the side of *norissy*, l. 127); R. of G., Harl. — *perysy*, l. 337; *norisy*, ll. 315, 3775, 8938; *norisin*, l. 6453; E. E. Psalter, Add. — *norisen*, p. 54 l. 25, *joisen*, p. 149 l. 2 (by the side of *perissen*, *perisse*, *peris*, *florissen*, *florisse*, *floris*, etc., as a rule); Jos. of Arim. — *trayse*, l. 624; Gaw. —

[1]) In a footnote to its article on the suffix *-ish* the *N. E. D.* has the following: "In a few words the F. *-iss*, is represented in Engl. by *-ise*, or even *-ize*: eg. *avertir*, *-iss* — *Advertise*: *chastir*, *-iss*, *Chastise*; *amortir*, *-iss* — *Amortise: rejouir*, *rejouiss* — has given *Rejoice*." (The Dictionary's examples are not particularly fortunate. The source of *chastise* is extremely uncertain, according to the Dictionary's own derivation; *Advertise*, as the Dictionary suggests, is probably due to the substantive: while *Amortise* can come from Fr. *amortiser* < Med. Lat. **amortizare*.) We conclude from the above examples that the *s* in the suffix form *-ise* represents a voiced sound. If this is the case, the Dictionary shows a considerable variation in the use of its examples: verbs given as ending in *-ise* are illustrated by forms in *-iss*, where the voiceless *s* is unmistakably meant; and forms in *-ise* occur under the infinitive endings *-ish*, *-is*.

cherysen, l. 2055; *enbelyse*, l. 1033; — pret. forms in *-ised*: R. of G., Harl. — *yperised*, l. 194; E. E. Psalter, Add. — *perised*, p. 141 l. 6; E. S-E. Legdy. — *inoriced*, p. 449 l. 2; M. P. — *venquised*, XXIII l. 909; Forma Conf. — *stablised*, l. 259; Gaw. — *polysed*, l. 2393; Wm. of Pal. — *brandised*, l. 3294; P. P., C., Corp. Chr. Cbr. — *venkised*, XXI l. 106; — pres. forms in *-isest*, *-isit*, *-ising*, etc. It so happens that these *-ised*, *-ise(n)* forms do not occur in rhyme. In the absence of this determining factor, therefore, we cannot conclude that the *s* was a voiced sound. On the other hand it is significant that these examples come from monuments that either were in *-iss* zones or show the influence of *-iss* zones. We have, therefore, no right to regard the M. E. *-ised*, *-ise(n)* < type *-iss* as a separate and distinct form of the suffix. It was simply type *-iss* plus the infinitive ending *-e(n)* or the pret. ending *-ed*, etc. Without doubt the *s* was *voiceless, so long as the* e *of the pret. ending was pronounced or retained for metrical purposes.* As soon as the pret. ending amalgamated with the suffix (p. e., *per-is-ed* became *per-ised*), one of two things must have happened, either the *s* of the suffix unvoiced the *d* of the ending, or the *d* voiced the *s*. Of these two processes the former would prevail — and, in fact, has prevailed — because its result is a voiceless sound, which is more easily spoken than a voiced sound. This process — the unvoicing of *d* by *s* — certainly took place in the period covered by our material (cf. the numerous instances of forms like *perist* etc.), as it is taking place now, — I refer, of course, to the unvoicing of the *d* of the pret. ending by the voiceless spirant *s*, as in *perisht*, etc. ("Phonetic" spellers, to-day recommend writing *perisht* for *perished.*) [1])

The latter change — i. e., the voicing of the *s* by the *d* — could have taken place in the North, after the loss of the *e* of the pret. ending (sometime in the 16th c.). Significant in this connection is *rejoice*. This is the only extended verb in which

[1]) Cf. Transactions of the Am. Phil. Ass., XVII (1886), p. 127 ff. Quoted from Kaluža's Gramm., Bd. II, p. 197, § 351.

type *-iss* has survived. In M. E. its pret. forms were written frequently *-ised.* If the loss of the *e* and the voicing of the *s* in the preterit ending had occurred, pres. forms in *-ise* could have been formed on the analogy of the new preterit with the voiced *s*. No such variant remains. Apparently, the sound was never in doubt; it was always voiceless.

The *N. E. D.* and the *Century Dicty.* give the variant *-ise* (examples from the M. E. period) for 26 extended verbs: *accomplish, anguish* (< *anguiss-ier*), *anientish, betraish, traish, blandish, brandish, cherish, chevish, embellish, encrampish* (Engl. sbs. *cramp*), *enjoish, ennoblish, florish, fretish, furnish, honish, obeish, oblish* (='oblige' < *obliger*), *perish, polish, ravish, rejoish* (='rejoice') *tappish, vanquish, warnish-garnish.* Not one of these survives in the *-ise* form. If a voiceless *s* form (written *-ise*) of the suffix had ever existed as an independent sound in the South — supported, as it would have been, by the prolific verbal suffix *-ize* (< Med. Lat. *-izare*), with the same sound, — it is likely that it would have withstood the advance of the *-ish* type in some cases and left at least a few traces behind it, just as the voiceless *s* form (written *-iss*) of the suffix (which did exist as an independent sound in the North and probably in Kent and Gloucestershire) left plainly marked traces behind it.

VI. Origin of the English Forms of the French Inchoative Suffix.

1. Phonetic Development of the Fr. Suffix in France.

The following equation represents the development of the Latin inchoative suffix *isc* before *i* (also before *e*), which is its position in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. pres. ind.; — *finiscis, finiscit.*

isk > *iskχ'* > *istχ'* > *istš* > *išš* > *iss* > *is.* [1])

The process was a steady fronting followed by the successive

[1]) Cf. ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, §§ 199*γ* and 112*β*, and Joret, *Du C dans la Langue Romane*, p. 75. *χ'* represents the sound

loss, through assimilation, of the interdental *t* and the palatal element.

Such was the development in the Francian dialect. (With certain possible exceptions among the Waloon monuments, noted below, the final stage — *is*, *iss* — is universal in the literature.) In Picardy and Eastern Normandy, according to ten Brink (and in the Waloon country?), the suffix remained at the stage *isš*, — i. e., the palatal element was not assimilated, — which could give both long and short *š*.

Let us consider these stages separately as possible sources of the Engl. forms of the suffix.

2. Francian *-iss* as the Basis of Engl. *-iš*.

a) Phonetic Development *iss* > *iš*.

The phonetic development *iss* > *iš*, it seems to us, cannot be satisfactorily explained except by the immediate neighborhood of a palatal spirant. It would then be a case of palatal attraction. Palatal progression in the development of voiceless *s* > *š* — without the influence of some other sound, like *χ'* — seems out of the question.

It is necessary to mention here, however, the interesting surmise of *Hornung*. Hornung thinks that perhaps retrograde ("rückläufige") developments sometimes occur, in so far as a later stage in a given development gives off a sound which theoretically belongs to an earlier stage of the same.[1]) The case which instigated Hornung's supposition is similar to the one now under discussion. Diez thought that the Pic. *tš* < Lat. *c* was a coarsening (*Vergröberung*) of the *ts* sound. While not contradicting the theoretical correctness of Joret's development

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in Germ. *ich*. Ten Brink uses the sign *y*. It is also written *i̯* or *j*. In the latter case the voiceless *j* sound is understood.

[1]) ... "ob nicht auch rückläufige Entwickelungen vorkommen in der Weise, dass aus einem später entstandenen Laute solche hervorgehen, die theoretisch einer früheren Periode angehören". *Zur Geschichte des Lateinischen* C *vor* E *und* I *im Romanischen*, p. 43 ff.

of Lat. *c* bef. *e* and *i* — namely, *k* > *kχ'* (= *kj*) > *tš* > *ts* [1]), — Hornung says it is well known that such a theoretically retrograde development as Diez proposed, has actually happened in the Span. *j* (= *χ*) that comes from *x* (= Fr. *ch*), as in *faja, bajar, ejemplo*, and he thinks it has happened in the dialects of Gruère, Canton de Friburg, where Lat. *glacies* has given *lyeše*; *limacia, lemaše*; and *faciam* (future), *fašo*. Hornung considers this *š* a later development of *ts*, apparently because the same dialect shows a sound which, he thinks, is certainly a later development of *ts*, — namely, *Θ* (= Engl. *th*), as in *faΘe* < *facies, pleyeΘe* < Lat. *platea* (a form which Hornung also locates in the dialects of Fr. Switzerland, p. 1), and *avánΘo* ('j'avance'), beside *avanχi'* ('avancer') before the stress, < Lat. **abantiare*. The neighboring dialect shows Lat. *c* before *e* and *i* becoming *Θ* and *f*. But it is not necessary to regard the *š* in *fašo*, the *Θ* in *avánΘo*, and the *f* forms as later developments of the stage *ts*. As Professor Hoops points out, they may have originated otherwise. The *š* in *fašo* could have resulted from the following development: *kχ'* > *tχ'* > *tsχ'* > *sχ'* > *šχ'* > *š* (*kj* > *tj* > *tsj* > *sj* > *šj* > *š*), and the *Θ* in *avanΘo* might have developed in this way: *tχ'* > *ΘχΘ* > *Θ* (*tj* > *Θj* > *Θ*).

The development of the Franc. suffix *-iss* to the Engl. form *-iš* would be a "theoretically retrograde" but practically possible development like the above, — i. e., "retrograde" physiologically speaking. For instance, in Joret's equation, *k* > *kχ'* > *tχ'* > *tš* > *ts*, a reversal of the development *tš* > *ts* would be retrogressive because it is a reversal of the phonetic process which, physiologically speaking, is known as "fronting", — i. e., a steady shoving forward in the mouth of the place where the tongue forms with the roof of the mouth a barrier to the palatal sound. It would also be practically possible if we are prepared to accept the explanation of the retrogression of *s* to the position *š* without any apparent cause, as a "coarsening". But if a phonetic development must be an advance under an impulse which evidently exists, the possibility of the development *s* to *š* — while it may

[1]) *Du C dans la Langue Romane*, p. 75 ff.

be phonetically possible — is not probable without the influence of some sound like *χ'*.

Aside from the phonetic difficulties in the change *ss* to *š*, the possibility of a specifically Engl. development *-iš* < Franc. *-iss* is excluded by the fact, noted by Behrens (cf. this investigation p. 8), that the other French and native *ss* in a position similar to that of the suffix do not reflect any such change, which they would have done had it occurred.

3. Heuser's Theory of an Intermediate Stage *sts*.

Let us consider Heuser's theory that the Fr. suffix (together with *sk* of the Ags. suffix *-isc*) went to *š* over the transitional stage *sz* (= *sts*), written *ss* (*sc*, *c*).

The support Heuser finds for the existence of the *sz* (*sts*) sound in the variant writings *ss*, *sc*, *c* of the Fr. and Ags. suffixes is demolished by the facts, brought out in Chapters III and IV, that the writing *ss* does not chronologically precede the writing *sh*, and that it represents the voiceless *s* sound of a secondary and local development. The signs *sc* and *c* are merely variant writings of the same sound, voiceless *s*, and were introduced by continental scribes [1]) from Normandy and Picardy, where the writing *sc* and *c* for *s* was frequent. [2]) There is not sufficent evidence to indicate that the sound represented by *sc*, *c*, and *z* [3]) in Heuser's examples *blisce*, *blice*, *blize*, *laze* (= Mod. Engl. 'lass') is other than the voiceless *s* sound.

We may discard definitely Heuser's theory because the writings (*ss*, *s*) that represent the second stage in his equation Ags. *sc* > *sz* [*sts*] > *š* do not chronologically precede the writings (*sch*, *sh*) that represent the final stage in it, as he thought they did.

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[1]) Cf. A. Luhmann's Diss., *Die Überlieferung von Lazamon's Brut*, in the Stud. z. Engl. Phil. 22, p. 22 ff.

[2]) Cf. L. E. Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*. N. Y. 1904, p. 108, and Stimming's Edition of Boeve de Haumtone, pp. 224, 228.

[3]) For the Norman Scribe's use of *z* for voiceless *s*, cf. Menger, l. c.

4. O. F. *-iskχ'* or *-istχ'* as the Basis of Engl. *-iš*, North Engl. *-is*.

The Fr. suffix could have entered England from the stages *iskχ'* or *istχ'*, united with the similar sound of the Ags. suffix at the stage *isχ'* — in its development *isk* > *isχ'* > *išχ'* > *išš* > *iš* — and shared in the loss of the palatal element by assimilation (*isχ'* > *iss* > *is*) which the Ags. suffix underwent in the North, in Kent, and — so far as we can determine — in Gloucestershire. But such a development would have been possible only under the following circumstances. It was necessary for the Fr. suffix to be in one of the stages *iskχ'* or *istχ'* and the Ags. suffix in the stage *isχ'* between the years 1066, at the earliest, and 1290 (the first appearance of the Fr. suffix in an Engl. Monument, — E. S-E. Legdy., Laud 108) at the latest. The Fr. suffix had already reached the final stage before 1066, as we find it in the Passion Christi (a Provencial copy of a central N-West. Fr. original. Both the MS. and the original are of the 10th c.) 42 a *gurpissen* (= *guerpissent*), ps. ind. 3 pl. [1]) This fact, however, does not exclude the possibility of the suffix's having remained at the stage *iskχ'* or *istχ'* to a much later date in a dialect — only Norman and Picard concern the issue, — where the development was much slower. Still possible, though even less probable, is the supposition that the Ags. suffix was in the stage *isχ'* between the years 1066 and 1290. Just when the Ags. *sc* became *š* is a much debated question. Bülbring [2]) puts the date as early as 700. Kluge [3]) says that the development was completed

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[1]) Lücking's edition.

[2]) "zu Anfang unserer schriftlichen Überlieferung" — *Altengl. Elementarb.*, § 507, Anm. To the literature given here might be added: — C. G. Child, *Palatal Diphthongization of Stem Vowels in the Old English Dialects.* Johns Hopkins Diss., revised and republished in the Publns. of the Univ. of Pa., Series in Philology and Literature, vol. 9, Phila. 1903; — and H. Cornelius, *Die altenglische Diphthongierung durch Palatale im Spiegel der mittelenglischen Dialekte.* Stud. z. Engl. Phil. 30.

[3]) Paul's Grdr.[2] I, p. 994.

everywhere by the 12th c. Bülbring[1]) believes it possible that the form *englis* beside *englisc* (a single occurrence only) in the Lindisfarne Ritual indicates that the M. E. development of the Ags. *sc* in unstressed position had begun. If this is so, the Ags. suffix had already passed the stage *sχ'*, in the North, by the second half of the 10th c. But, accepting the most extreme limit for the completion of the development of the Ags. *sc* to *š*, i. e. the end of the 12th c., it is still difficult to conceive that the Norm. suffix entered an earlier stage of an Engl. development which was completed 30 years after the conquest.

5. Norm.-Pic. *-isš* as the Basis of South Engl. *-iš*; North Engl. *-is*.

a) Theory of ten Brink and Behrens.[2])

Ten Brink and Behrens thought that the Fr. suffix had the *š* sound in the O. F. period, under the symbol *ss* (Behrens located it in the Norm. and Pic. suffix.) and that it entered England in this *š* form. At first, it was written *-iss*, as on the continent; later it was written *-ish*, by analogy to the writing of the similar sounding Ags. suffix *-ish*.

We have seen in chapters III and IV that the writing *-iss* of the Fr. suffix did not represent the *š* sound (except possibly in Gloucestershire). In the North, in Kent, and — so far as we can judge — in Gloucestershire it represented the voiceless *s* sound of a secondary and local development that the Fr. suffix underwent in those regions. We cannot agree, therefore, with the ten Brink-Behrens theory in so far as it explains the variant Engl. writings. But as an explanation of the origin of the Engl. *-ish* form of the Fr. suffix, we must agree with it. The consideration of the evidence which leads us to this conclusion forms the subject of the following paragraphs.

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[1]) "In Li. begegnet neben *énglisć* "*englisch*" einmal *énglis*, woraus vielleicht auf den aus me. und ne. Zeit bekannten nordh. Übergang des unbetonten [*š*] in [*s*] zu schliessen ist." *Altengl. Elementarb.*, § 570.

[2]) Cf. this investigation, p. 7 ff.

b) Evidence of the O. F. Monuments.

One *š* form of the suffix must have existed in O. F., — namely, the unleveled subjunctive — although few, if any, unleveled forms are extant. (Behrens [1]) believes he has caught one in *Conichet*, Pseudo Turp. 300, 4 — Görlich. Also, *ingemischans* probably shows the unleveled form.) In such a leveling as we have to deal with, the chance of the form of the little used subjunctive being preferred over the much used indicative is so slender that we may discard it, and, following Behrens' hint, turn to the Norm. and Pic. dialects.

The introductions to the Norm., Pic., and Waloon monuments I have handled (also those of the Lotheringian dialect, where modern *š* forms led me to suspect their existence in the ancient dialect), as well the dissertations on the same give scant notice of any suffix writing that indicates the presence of the *š* sound. It must be admitted that if there is such a form, it is extremely rare. But that "its existence is no longer indicated", as Behrens [2]) says, is hardly the case. The following from *Les Poesies de Gilles li Muisis* [3]) (a Fleming who lived from 1272—1352) are reported by Risop: [4]) p. 27 — *confiscent*: *tapiscent*, *iscent*, *compliscent*; p. 102 — *goyscent*, *goisçoit*; p. 111 — *partiscent*: *povriscent*; p. 116 — *accomplisce*. A. Schulze [5]) says: "der *š* laut findet sich in *fourniece*, *achatece*, *mesureche*, *aporteche*, *porteche*, *ovreche*, *ovrece*, *ouevrece*, *euvrece*, in *Le Livre de Métiers d'Etienne Boileau*." [6]) Willenberg [7]) accounts for these forms by supposing analogy to the Pic. subj. forms *meche* or *mece*. He cites further *aportache*, (which, he thinks, may be due to the analogy

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[1]) In his review of Risop's *Die analogische Wirksamkeit in der französischen Konjugation*, Zs. f. neufrz. Spr. u. Litt. 5, Krit. Anzeigen, p. 71.

[2]) Cf. this investigation, p. 8, Note 1.

[3]) "*Les Poesies*", Ed. by Keroyn de Lettenhove. Louvain 1882.

[4]) *Studien z. Gesch. d. frz. Konjugation auf -IR.*

[5]) *Der Konsonantismus des Francischen im 13. Jahrhundert*, Diss. Halle 1890, p. 13.

[6]) 13th c. P. p. René de Lespinasse et François Bonnardot. Paris 1879.

[7]) Roman. Stud. 3, pp. 414 and 413, Anm. 3.

of *hache*, Picard conj. pres. of *hair.*), *semblece*, *ovreche*, *achatece*, *porteche*, in *Reglemens sur les arts et metiers de Paris, redigés au XIIIe siècle*,[1]) and adds the information that they appear in even greater numbers in the 14th century, — not only in Francien, but also in the dialects of Flanders. He mentions as an instance: *Roisin, franchises, lois et coutumes de la ville de Lille.*[2]) August Scheler[3]) cites the conj. forms *acateche*, *bouteche*, *fouilleche*, *wagneche*, *geteche* from *Le livre des mestiers* (*Dialogues français-flamands composes au XIV siecle par un maitre d'ecole de la ville de Bruges*).[4])

Of interest in regard to ten Brink's surmise that the š sound was hidden under the writing *ss*, are the forms *marissal-aus*, beside *marechal* and *marichal*, reported by Schulze. Schulze (l. c.) seems to think that the *ss* in *marissal* represents a development of the š sound to hard *s.*[5]) But the presence of the forms with the writing *ch* permits an interpretation in favor of ten Brink's surmise.

c) Evidence of the Mod. Fr. Dialects.

For evidence of the existence of the suffix with the š sound of Normandy and Picardy to-day, let us turn to the map on the opposite page. There we have sketched in the results gathered from the *Atlas Linguistique.* On the map we can follow the boundaries of *the region where the suffix has the* š *sound in the modern dialects.* It includes, roughly, *O. F. Normandy* — the eastern part, — *Picardy*, and the *Waloon country.*

d) Parallel Survivals of Specifically Norman and Picard Sounds in English.

A survival of the Norm.-Pic. form of the inchoative suffix in Middle and Modern English over the Franc. form of the same

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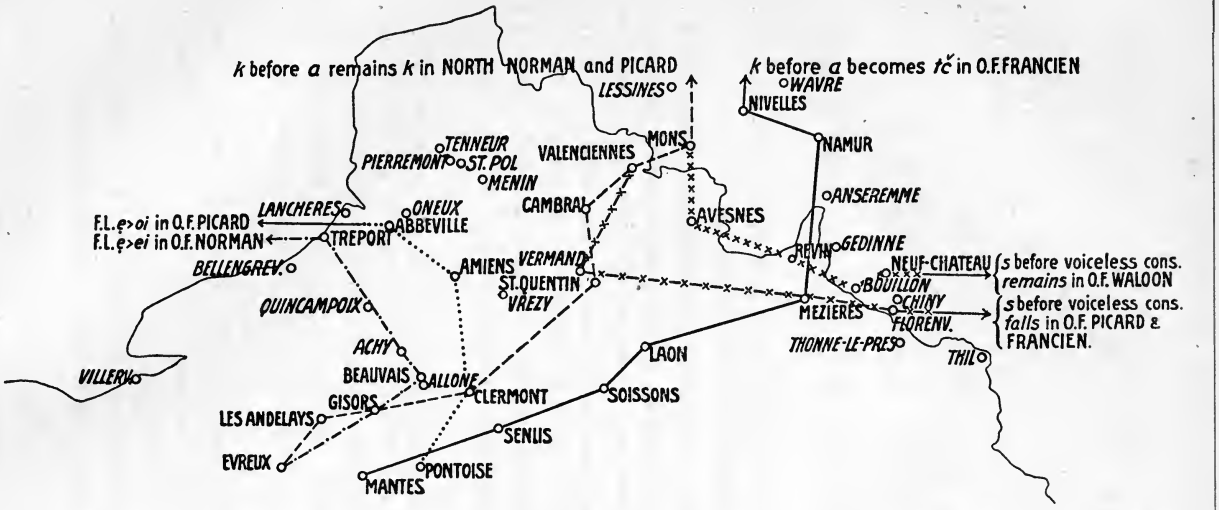
[1]) Ed. by Depping. Paris 1837.

[2]) P. p. Brun-Lavainne. Lille 1842. (Forms cited from Risop.)

[3]) Jahrb. f. Rom. u. Engl. Litt. 14 (N. F. 2), Kritische Anzeigen, p. 441.

[4]) P. p. H. Michelant. Paris 1875.

[5]) "*sch* ist zu *ss* geworden in: *marissal-aus* M (='Livre des métiers') XVI, 1 $^{VIII}_{2}$, 13, häufiger findet sich aber *marechal* und *marichal.*"



The boundaries are those etablished by Suchier, Gröber's Grdr. I², p. 712ff. According to the *Atlas Linguistique finissent, finissiez, finisse,* and *remplissais* show *iš* forms in the following towns. (These towns are printed in cursive type on the map.)

finissent (Carte 574) = *finiš* in Tenneur, Pierremont, St. Pol, Menin, Wavre, Anseremme, Gedinne, Chiny, Thil, Thonne-les-pres.

finissiez (Carte 571) = *finiš* in Lancheres, Oneux, Menin, Lessines, Wavre, Anseremme, Gedinne, Bouillon, Thil, Thonne-les-pres.

finisse (Carte 576, A and B) = *finiš* in Villerville, Bellengreville, Quincampoix, Achy, Allonne, Vrèzy, Vermand, Lessines, Wavre, Anseremme, Gedinne, Bouillon, Thonne-les-pres, Thil.

remplissais (Carte 1146), imperf. 2 sg. = *rêmpliš* in Oneux, Menin, Lessines, Bouillon, Thil, Thonne-les-pres.

would find numerous parallels. The following instances are taken from Kaluza's Grammar. The M. E. forms are given.

Pic.-E. Norm. *k* remains in *cas, cave, cage, carre, caroine* = 'corpse', *carole, carpenter, cause, causseie* = 'causeway', *caudel, caudron, capitain* by the side of Franc. *cheuetain, catel* by the side of *chatel, cacchen* by the side of *chace* (Mod. Engl. 'chase'), *carie(n)* by the side of *charge* = 'load up', (*caritee*) by the side of *charitee*, (*calice*) by the side of *chalice*, (*calenge(n)*) by the side of *chalengen.*

Anglo-Norm. *-orie* (Franc. *-oire*): *glory, story, memorie, victorie, ivorie, purgatorie.*

Anglo-Norm. tonic *oi* (Franc. *o*) before *l'*, *n'*: *soile, spoile(n), despoile(n), assoile(n), boile(n), toile(n), joine.*

Anglo-Norm. tonic *ẽ* (Franc. *ã*): *attempte(n), contempte(n), tremble(n), asemble(n), resemble(n), membre, gent, present, parlement, assente(n), entre(n), defende(n), amende(n), descende(n), defence, offence, presence, patience, sentence, silence, commence(n), avenge(n).*

Anglo-Norm. tonic *ei* < *e* before *l'*, *n'* (Franc. *e*) written *-eil, -eille, -eigne*: *counseil, merveile, boilele,* (*reine* = 'realm'), *attain, streine(n), constreine(n), feinen,* (*deine(n)* = 'esteem'), *desdeinen.*

Anglo-Norm. unchecked tonic *u* (Franc. *ou*, later *eu*, < F.L. *o* 'L') > M. E. *ū* [*ou*]: *vou, nevou* by the side of *nevew, avowe(n), allowe(n), doute, goute, voute, spouse,* (*h*)*oure, devoure(n), couple, double, trouble(n), poudre*; before a final cons.: *devout, glorious, precious, hidious, bour, flour,* (*h*)*onour, labour, culour, mirour, emperour, creatour.*

Anglo-Norm. tonic *ũ* (Franc. *õ̧* < F. L. *o̧* and *o̧* before a nasal) > M. E. *u* [*ou*] as a rule: *toumbe, goun, soun, renoun, baroun, lioun, resoun, coroune,* (*espoune(n)*), *mount, pount* = 'bridge', *acount, amount, acounte(n), amounte(n), encountre(n), round, profound, bounde, abounde(n), confounde(n), ounce, anounce(n), pronounce(n), renounce(n), plounge(n).*

Anglo-Norm. pretonic *ũ* (Franc. *õ̧*) > M. E. *u* [*ou*]: *bountee, counseil, countesse, countenaunce, mountaine.*

6. Summary.

While we must admit we can bring forward but few writings of the suffix in the Norm. and Pic. literary monuments that would indicate the existence of the *š* sound, there is the possibility, suggested by ten Brink, that this sound existed under the writing *ss*. On the other hand the present-day pronunciation *-iš* of the suffix in the territory of O. F. Picardy and East Normandy, coupled with the improbability of a later development of this form out of the form with the voiceless *s* (cf. § 2 of this chapter), points almost conclusively to its existence in that territory, in the O. F. period.

Its existence there at that time granted, transplantation to England was almost inevitable. This was favored by two powerful circumstances: first, the intimate relations of England with Normandy and Picardy, which aided the transference of Norm. and Pic. dialectical forms (as is shown by other survivals of specifically Norm. and Pic. sounds over their Franc. rivals); second, the exact phonetic correspondence of the Norm.-Pic. suffix to the native Ags. suffix.

The conclusive argument in favor of this hypothesis — i. e., that the English *-iš* form of the French suffix came from the O. Norm. and Pic. form of the same — is that it is the only hypothesis which meets all the conditions of the actual development (traced in chapters III and IV.) of the French suffix on English soil.

7. Conclusion.

The foregoing consideration of the phonetic development of the French suffix on English soil has given the following results:

1. We may reject the possibility of the Francien suffix *-iss* developing to *-iš* in England, because the other French and native *-ss* do not reflect such a development (as Behrens points out) and because of the phonetic difficulties involved.

2. We may reject Heuser's equation Ags. *sc* > *sz* [*sts*] > *š*, because of the fact that the writings *ss*, *s*, which represent the

second stage of this equation do not chronologically precede the writings *-sch*, *sh*, as Heuser thought they did.

3. We may consider the development, O. F. *-iskχ'* or *-istχ'* > Engl. *-iš* as possible but highly improbable, because of the fact that the dates of such a development would not coincide, as they should do — according to the results of chapters III and IV — with the dates of the development, Ags. *-isc* > *-iš*.

4. We may accept the stage *-isš* (the existence of which in the Old Norm. and Pic. dialects is conclusively indicated by the fact that it exists in the Modern Norm. and Pic. dialects) as the origin of English *-iš*, North Engl. *-is*, because it is the only origin that would fall in with the actual development (traced in chapters III and IV.) of the French suffix on English soil.

We may conclude, therefore, that the Fr. suffix entered England from East Normandy and Picardy at the stage *sš* (*šš* or *š* — i. e., at the final stage of its development in the dialects of those provinces), fell in with the final stage *š* of the Ags. suffix, and became *-iss* in the North and — so far as we can judge — in Kent and Gloucestershire, by analogy to the development of the Ags. suffix in those regions.

Entrance from the stage *stš*, which was possibly preserved dialectically in O. F. times, and union with the similar sound *š* of the Ags. suffix was also possible.

Appendix I.

Other Instances of French *-is* becoming *-iš* in English.

While denying the possibility of an *-iss* form of the French suffix becoming *-iš* in England, we must notice certain words that Kaluža (Gramm. § 411 f.) gives as examples of such a change. They are the following (Kaluža's derivations

are included): *cash* (frz. *caisse*), *cashier*, *abash* (frz. *esbahir*) *bashful*, *lash* (frz. *laisse*), *bushel* (afrz. *buissiel*), *cushion* (afrz. *cuissin*), *ambush* (afrz. *embuissier*), *brush* (afrz. *broisse*), *crush* (afrz. *cruissier*), *frush* = 'to bruise' (afrz. *fruissier*), *usher* (afrz. *uissier*).

The *š* sound in these words is the result of three distinct processes.

I. The palatal spirant *š* is carried over directly from the same sound (or the closely related sound *tš*. Cf. *brush* < O. F. *broche*) in the French original. The *š* (or *tš*) comes from Lat. *c* in *abash*, *ish*, *crush*, *cash*, *cushion*, *ambush*, *lash* = 'to move swiftly'; from Lat. *s* in *rush*; from Germ. *kj* in *slash*; from Lat. *tj* in *brush* = 'brushwood' and *brush* = 'a sweeping utensil'.

1. In the case of following derivatives the origin of the *š* sound is plainly visible in the writing of the French original.

a) *Ambush*, vb. (M. E. *enbusse*, *inbuche*, *em-bu(i)sshe*, *-busche*) < O. F. *embuscher* (by the side of *embuissier*). Late Lat. **in-boscāre* < *in* + *bosc-us* = 'a wood'. — *N. E. D.* The noun *ambush* (M. E. *enbusshe*) < O. F. *embusche* < *embuscher* probably helped to determine the derivation of the verb *ambush* from *embuscher* instead of from *embuisser*.

b) *Lash* (M. E. *las(s)ch(e*, *lasshe*) = 1. 'to move swiftly', 2. 'to let fly *at*', 3. 'to strike out violently', < Fr. *lâcher* (O. F. *lascher*) = 'to loose', 'let go'. — *N. E. D.* *Hatzf.-Darmst.* gives the Pop. Lat. source **lascare* (C. L. *laxare* gives Fr. *laisser*). It quotes the form *laschet* in the phrase *Laschet la resne* from the *Rol.*, 1290.

c) *Lash* = 1. 'a blow', 2. 'the flexible part of a whip', 3. 'a string', 'cord' (Deriv. *lash* = 'to strike with a lash'), < O. F. *lache* = Fr. *lacet*, vbl. sbs. of *lachier*, dial. var. of *lacier* = 'attacher par un lacs'. The verb *lash* (M. E. *lasschyn*, *lashen*) = 'to lace (a garment)', 'to make fast with a cord', may come from either the Engl. sbs. or O. F. *lachier* directly.

d) *Gash*. Later form of †*g(a)arce*, *gerce*, *garsshe*, *garse* = 'a cut', < O. F. **garse*, noun of action from *garser*. Cf. Med. Lat. *garsa*, *gersa* = 'incision', 'scarification'. The verb †*garse* comes

from O. F. *garser*, *gerser* (Palsgrave quotes a var. *garscher*, which the *N. E. D.* says "is perhaps not to be relied on".). O. F. *garser* glosses *caraxāre*, the Lat. form of Gr. χαράσσειν = 'to cut'. Palsgrave's var. perhaps *is* reliable, in which case we might suppose a Fr. **garsche*, var. to the sbs. **garse*, for the source of the Engl. sbs. *garsshe*. An influencing of the Engl. sbs. by the Engl. vb. is also possible.

e) *Rush* (M. E. *rus(s)che*, *ru(s)sh(e)* = 'to force out of position by violent impact' < A. F. *russher*, var. of *russer*, O. F. *re(h)u(s)ser*, *ruser*, Mod. Fr. *ruser*. Pop. Lat. **refusāre*, from the p. p. of Lat. *refundere*. (The *N. E. D.*, from which this derivation is taken, remarks that it is difficult to regard the forms in *ss*, and *ssh* — by which, no doubt, the O. F. forms are meant — as having this origin.

f) *Slash* (M. E. *slashen*, rare) = 'to cut with a violent sweep' < O. F. *esclachier* = 'to break to pieces' (Godefroy) < O. F. *es* (< Lat. *ex*) + Germ. type **klakjan*, M. H. G. *klecken* = 'to break with a 'clack''.

g) *Brush* (M. E. *brusche*) = 'cut brushwood' < O. F. *brosse*, *broce*, *broche* = 'brushwood'. Diez cites Pr. *brossa*, Sp. *broza*, It. *brustia*, — with the same meaning — 'brushwood'. (Cf. Ital. *brusca* = 'ling' or 'heath to make brushes with'.) Diez takes the Late Lat. type as **brustia* and refers it to O. H. G. *burst*, *bursta*, M. H. G. *bürste* = 'a bristle'. (Cf. Du Cange, who gives the Late Lat. type as *bruscia* = 'a thicket'.)

h) *Brush* (M. E. *brusshe* = 'a utensil for sweeping' (Deriv. *brush*, vb.) < O. F. *brosse*, *broisse*, which also comes ultimately from Germ. **burstia* (Hatzf.-Darmst.). In this case we could take for granted the same variants *broce* and *broche* that gave English *brush* = 'brushwood'. The form of *brush* = 'a sweeping utensil', however, may be due to the influence of *brush* = 'brushwood', since the relationship between these two words — like that which the French etymologists have recognised as existing between the two French equivalents — is sufficiently close to make such an influence quite possible.

2. The writing of the French original does not show the origin of the š sound in the English derivatives.

a) *Abash* (M. E. *abaschen, abaischen*) is a contraction of *aba-ish*, a regular development from O. F. *esbahis-*, the extended stem of *esbahir*.

b) *Ish* (M. E. *iss(e, isch(e, is(s)h(e)* = 'to go out', 'issue' < O. F. *issir*, earlier *eissir* < Lat. *exire*.

c) *Crush* (M. E. *cruschen, crusshen*) < O. F. *crois(s)ir, cruis(s)ir* = 'to make a crashing noise' = Cat. *croxir*, Sp. *cruxir, crujir*, It. **croccere, crosciare*, Med. Lat. *cruscire*. Of Germ. origin. Skeat gives the Germ. type as **kraustjan*, causal of *kreustan*.

d) *Cushion* (M. E. had two types: *cuisshin, quishin* < O. F. *coissin, coessin, cuissin*; and *cusshyn, cushin* < F. *coussin* (14th c.), earlier *cussin* (12th c. in Hatzfeld.). The latter type survived in both languages. — *N. E. D.* O. F. *coissin* = Fr. *coissin*, Sp. *coixi, cojin*, It. *coscino, cuscino*, Late Lat. type *coxīnum* < *cox* = 'hip'. It does not seem necessary though to derive the second type, *cushin*, directly from O. F. *coussin*. It could be the result of the same process of reduction working independently in England. Fr. *cuissin* > *cussin* > *coussin* : Engl. *cuisshin* > *cushin* > *cushion*.

e) *Cash* = 1. 'a money chest', 2. 'money' (Examples of both meanings as early as the last decade of the 15th c. are given by the *N. E. D.*). The *N. E. D.* derives *cash* from Fr. *casse* — quoting Cotgrave — or its source, the It. *cassa*. Let us note here the possibility of another source for the Engl. word, — namely, Fr. *caisse* or a dial. var. of it. According to *Hatzf.-Darmst. caisse* comes from Prov. *caissa* < Lat. *capsa* (Lat. *capsa* gives Fr. *chasse*.). *Capsa* is derived by Körting (*Etymol. Wörterb. d. frz. Sprache*) from an earlier **caxa*. To judge by the examples from Amyot († 1593) quoted in Littré and the examples of Engl. *cash* quoted above, Fr. *caisse* is old enough to have been the source of the Engl. word. (Deriv. *cashier* = 'one who has charge of the cash'. — Skeat, *Etymol. Dicty*. Cf. *N. E. D.*, which derives *cashier* directly from F. *caissier*.)

f) *Anguish*, sbs. (M. E. *anguis(s)e, angoise, anguy(s)se, angus(se), anguych(e, angwich, angwys(s)she), anguy(s)sh(e, angwish(e, anguish*) < O. F. *anguisse, angoisse* (Pr. *angoissa*, It. *angoscia*) = 'the sensation of choking' < Lat. *angustia* = 'a tightness' < *angustus* = 'narrow'.

Anguish, vb. (M. E. *angui(s)se, anguysche, angwi(s)che, anghysshe, anguish*) < O. F. *anguissie-r, angoissie-r* < Lat. *angustiāre* < *angustia.*

g) †*Releische, relysche, -les(c)he, ralesche*, obs. form of *release, -lesse, -lece* < O. F. *relesser* (12th c.) *relaiss(i)ier* (var. of *relâcher*) < Lat. *relaxāre* = 'to relax'.

h) *Varnish*, sbs. (M. E. *vernisch*) < F. *vernis* (Deriv. *vernisser*) = It. *vernice, vernicare, verniciare*, of doubtful origin, but cf. the MGK. *βερνίκη* (Skeat, *Etymol. Dicty.*).

Varnish, vb. < F. *vernisser* < sbs. *vernis. Century Dicty.* (Cf. Skeat, *Etymol. Dicty.*, who derives the verb from the Engl. sbs.)

i) *Frush* (M. E. *frus(s)he, frus(s)ch(e, fruyshe, froche, frush*) = 'to strike violently' < O. F. *fruissier, froissier* (Mod. Fr. *froisser*) < Pop. Lat. **frustiāre* = 'to shiver to pieces' < Lat. *frustare.*

The origin of the *š* sound in these words is to be sought for ultimately in the palatal of their Lat. originals: *k* in *-iscere, exire, cruscire, coxinum, *caxa*; *tj* in **frustiare.* The development in the intermediate stage, French to English, offers a direct parallel to that of the inchoative verbs. Just as we have Engl. *finish* for Francien-French *finis, abash* for *abais*, so we have Engl. *ish* for Francien-French *iss, crush* for *cruis, cushion* for *cuissin, cash* for *caisse* (accepting *caisse* or a dial. var. of it, instead of *casse*, as the source of the Engl. word), *anguish* for *anguisse, releische* for *relesser, relaiss(i)ier, varnish* for *vernis* and *frush* for *fruissier.*[1])

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[1]) In *bushel* and *usher* the palatal spirant *š* may have been developed by the presence of a *j* in the French suffix. (Only substantival suffixes come under consideration, as the infin. suffix *-ier* was not taken over into Englih.) But it seems more likely that these words also belong

II. The palatal spirant is due to analogy. This is the case in *push*, *quash* = 'to bring to nothing', *brush* = 'to rush with force', and *cashier* = 'to dismiss from service'.

1. *Push* (M. E. *pusse*, *puste*, *posshe(n*, *puszshe*, *pushe*, *powshe*) < O. F. *pousser* < *polser*, *poulser* < Lat. *pulsare*, freq. of *pellĕre* = 'to drive', 'beat'.

2. *Quash* (M. E. *quasse*, *quasche*) = 1. 'to annul', 'bring to nothing' < O. F. *quasser* = *casser* = 'to annul' < Late Lat. *cassāre* (Med. Lat. *quassāre*) < *cassus* = 'null', 'void'; 2. 'to break in pieces' < O. F. *quasser*, *casser* < Lat. *quassāre*, freq. of *quatere*.

3. *Brush* (M. E. *brusche(n*, *brusshe*) = 1. 'to rush with force', 2. 'to drive with a rush', 3. 'to burst away with a rush', 4. 'to move briskly by, through, or against anything'. (Deriv. *brush*, M. E. *brusche* = 'a forcible rush') < O. F. *brosser*. (Also it could be of onomatopœtic origin.)

4. *Cashier* (M. E. *casseir*, *-ir*, *-ier(e*, *-ere*, *casseer(e*, *casheer(e*, *-iere*, *-ieere*, *-ere(e*, *caszier*, *casier*, *cachier* = 'to dismiss from service' < Fr. *casser*. — Skeat, *Etymol. Dicty.*, quoting Hexham. (Cf. *N. E. D.*, which derives Engl. *cashier* from Flem. or Du. *casser-en* < Fr. *casser*.) Fr. *casser* is from Lat. *quassāre* = 'to shatter', acc. to Cotgrave, freq. of *quatere* = 'to shake' (which in Late Lat. annexed the senses of Lat. *cassāre* = 'to bring to nothing' < Lat. *cassus* = 'empty').

Upon the inorganic *š* in *push* the *N. E. D.* remarks: — "with palatalization of *s* (cf. *brush*, *cuish*, *quash*, with F. *brosse*, *cuisse*, *casser*)". Skeat, *Etymol. Dicty.*, says: "At a later time *puss* be-

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to the preceding group, where the *š* sound had been already developed in French by a following *k* or *tj*.

Bushel (M. E. *boyschel*, *buyschel* = 'a measure' < O. F. *boissiel*, *-el*, *buissiel*. — *N. E. D.* *Hatzf.-Darmst.* derives O. F. *boissel* from Pop. Lat. **bŭxitĕllum* over the intermediate stage **bocsiel*. For the derivations of Diez (*boissiel* is the dim. of *boiste*) and Du Cange (*boissel* is the dim. of O. F. *boise* = Med. Lat. *buza*, *buta* = 'a butt', cf. *N. E. D.*

Usher (M. E. *uschere*) = 'a doorkeeper' < O. F. *uissier*, *ussier*, *usser* (Godefroy cites also *uxiers*, *uscier*, *wiscier*) < Lat. **ŏstiārius*.

came *push* by change of double *s* to *sh*, as in *anguish* from *anguisse*, *brush* from F. *brosse*, *embellish* from F. *embeliss* &c."

The inorganic *š* in *push* and *quash* and perhaps also in *brush* and *cashier* is more probably the result simply of the analogical influence of the extended verbs, which was made possible by the similarity of the final stem consonants in certain forms of the French originals: namely, the imperf. ind. — *pousseie*, *quasseie*, *brosseie*, *casseie* : *fenisseie*; the pr. conj. — *pousse*, *quasse*, etc.: *fenisse*; pr. p. — *poussant* : *fenissant*; and the plural of the pres. ind. and the imperative. When these verbs were taken over into England, they followed the development of the extended verbs, — i. e., the final consonant of their stems became hard *s* [*ss*] in the North (and probably in Gloucestershire and Kent) and *š* elsewhere, following the analogy of the final consonant of the extended stems of the extended verbs.[1])

In the case of *brush* and *cashier* the result of the analogical process was materially forwarded, if not entirely effected, by the presence of *brush* = 'sweep' (more especially in its figurative uses 'sweep away', 'sweep by') and *cash* = 'a money chest', 'money'.

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[1]) For further instances of the analogical influence that the extended verbs wielded, cf. Part Second of this investigation, Ch. II.

Appendix II.

Chaucer's Voiceless *s* Form (*ice*) of the Inchoative Suffix.

The limit placed up on the collection of further material (cf. Introduction, p. 2.) restricts to a conjecture, a treatment of the voiceless *s* form of the inchoative suffix found in Chaucer. Ten Brink notes the form referred to, as occurring chiefly in rhyme, [1]) — p. e., *accomplice* (= 'accomplish'), *cherice* (= 'cherish'), *warice* (= 'warish') rhyming with *office*, *vice*, *averice*, etc.; and he puts the question whether the voiceless *s* form is the result of influence by the French *-iss* (voiceless *s*) form of the suffix or a further development of the original English form, which was *-ish* [*-iš*]. [2]) The results of the foregoing chapters offer an explanation: the form in question is no other than the voiceless *s* form of the suffix — the form found in the Northern, Kentish, and Gloucestershire *-iss* zones. Chaucer adopted it for rhyming purposes. He could have picked it up directly from natives speaking the dialects of these zones or indirectly from literary

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[1]) In this also, he was imitated by his followers, — p. e., *chevice* (= 'chevish'): *witness*, Occleve, *Misrule*, l. 282.

[2]) "Die Verba auf *-isco*, wenigstens einige derselben, kennen bei Chaucer aber auch eine Form mit kurzem tonlosen *s*, deren er sich vorzugsweise im Reime bedient; so kommen in den C. T. *accomplice*, *cherice*, *warice* (altfrz. *garir*, *warir*) im Reime auf *office vice*, *averice* u.s.w. vor. Es fragt sich, ob hier die jüngere französische Gestaltung des betreffenden *š*-Lautes eingewirkt hat, oder ob eine abweichende Entwicklung der Grundform vorliegt." *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, § 112 *β*.

mouments written in the same; for he had ample opportunity to do either. Parallels to his writing — with *c* — of the suffix are furnished by M. E. *nourice*[1]), (Mod. Engl. 'nourish') and *rejoice*,[1]) beside *rejoish*, (Mod. Engl. 'rejoice'. — the sole survival of the voiceless *s* form in English. Cf. p. 63.)

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[1]) Cf. *rejoice* and *nourish* in Part Second, Ch. I, § 3a, of this investigation.

Part Second.

The French *-ir* Conjugation in Middle English.

I. French "Simple" and "Extended" Verbs.

The French conjugation in *-ir* falls into two classes: 1. It corresponds to the Latin verbs in *-ire* (the IV conjugation), including also many Latin *e* verbs and some Germanic derivatives; 2. It corresponds to the Latin inchoative conjugation, also including Latin *e* verbs and Germanic derivatives.

The second class corresponds to the Latin inchoative conjugation in a formal sense only. The inchoative meaning, already failing in Latin, died out before the time of the earliest French monuments — as has appeared in the treatment of the suffix — leaving the suffix a meaningless sign. There is, then, no longer a semantic side to this question. From the point of view of the suffix: *-ir* verbs are not either inchoative or non-inchoative, they are merely verbs with the suffix or without it, — to employ shorter terms already in use, they are either *extended* or *simple*.

The cleavage between these two classes in France, however, is not a clean one. The suffix continued to make conquests among the non-inchoative derivatives until it converted by far the larger number of non-suffixed verbs into suffixed verbs. But these conquests were not always complete. In many verbs there are simple forms side by side with the later suffixed forms, so that an *-ir* verb may be either simple or extended, or it may have both simple and extended forms. Briefly sketched, this was the situation in French (and despite the leveling that has taken place in favor of extended verbs, it still is the situation).

To follow the process of transplantation into English, we must be in a position to answer the following questions: 1. Are the Engl. forms of *-ir* verbs determined by their Fr. forms at the time of transplantation; or are these verbs taken over either

as simple or as extended verbs regardless of their previous condition in French? 2. Do the extended verbs increase at the expense of the simple and of the *-er* verbs, as in French; or do they recede? [1])

Let us consider the *-ir* verbs in the following order: first, the simple verbs; secondly, the extended verbs; lastly, verbs having both simple and extended forms. (The Engl. compounds and extended forms having other than Fr. Sources are bracketed. The first occurrences of those verbs that appear in our monuments are placed in foot-notes.)

1. Simple Verbs.

French simple verbs always remain simple verbs in English. *abstain* [2]) < *astenir*, G; *appertain* < *apartenir*, *apertenir*, *G; contain* [3]) < *contenir*, G (*precontain* < the preceding); *detain* < *detenir*, G (beside *detener*,[4]) G); *entertain* < *entretenir*, G (*reentertain* < the prec.); *maintain* [5]) < *maintainir*, G; *obtain* < *obtenir*, G (*reobtain* < the prec.); *pertain* < *partenir*, *G*; *retain* < *retenir*, G; *sustain* [6]) < *sustenir*, G (beside *sustener*, [7]) N. E. D); *accoward* < *accouardir* < *a*+*couard*, L; *accur*(*re*)† = 'run to', 'run together',

[1]) For the extended or non-extended nature of a verb in Fr., the author has had to rely upon the admirable work of Risop, already quoted, and upon the dictionaries of Godefroy and of Littré. The initial letters of these authorities after each verb will show how much this dissertation is indebted to them. Of course they do not represent the exact state of affairs in O. F. — not even for literary times, — because in the many instances where Godefroy and Littré are used for words that Risop does not include, we have no means of knowing how far their examples cover the field. So only the state of affairs in literary times is represented, — and that no more than approximately.

[2]) 1370—80: Propr. SS., p. 317 l. 85 — *abstene*, inf. 14th: R. R. H., Poems, Univ. Cbr. Dd V 64, p. 73, No. V — *abstene*, inf.

[3]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 108 l. 61 — *conteini*, inf. 13—10/10: Songs Harl. (2253), Polit. Lieder, IV l. 46 — *countene*, inf.

[4]) *detener*, 1292: Britton, I v. § 3.

[5]) 13—2/4: O. and N., Cal., l. 759 — *manteine*, inf.

[6]) 13—10/10: Marina, l. 49 — *susteined*, p. p.

[7]) No instances of *sustener* in G. or in L.

'meet' < *accourir* < **accourreir, accourroir*, G; *assail* [1]) < *assaillir*, R (*oversail* † = 'overthrow' < *sail*, aphetic of *assail*. Cf. Fr. *sursaillir* = 'leap upon'); *oversail* = 1. 'to roof or ceil over', 2. 'to lay stones or bricks so that each stone projects over that on which it rests' < *over* + *saillir* [2]); *convene* < *co(n)venir*, G (*reconvene* < the prec. Cf. Fr. *reconvenir*); *contravene* < *contravenir*; *subvene* < *subvenir*, G; *survene* † < *survenir*; *discover* [3]) < *descovrir*, R (beside *descover*, [4]) G) (*prediscover* = 'discover beforehand' < *discover*; *rediscover* < *discover*); *groin* † [5]) = 'to grunt' < *gron(h)ir*, G (beside *gron(h)er*, [6]) G); *fail* [7]) < *faillir*, R; *defail* [8]) = 'fail' (emphatic prefix) < *défaillir*; *offer* [9]) (= 1. 'present as sacrifice to God' < Ags. *offrian* < Lat. *offerre*) = 2. 'present as a gift' < O. F. *offrir* = 'present as a gift' < Lat. *offerre* (beside O. N. F. *offrer* = 'present as a gift' < Lat. *offerre*, N. E. D.; (*reoffer* < *offer* = 'present as a gift); *recoil* [10]) = 'gather

[1]) 13—1/2: Hali. Meidenh., l. 47 — *asailȝe*, inf.

[2]) The *N. E. D.* hesitates to derive *oversail* in sense 1 from *saillir*, on the ground that the sense connects it with the verb *ceil*. It seems probable that in bosh sense 1 and sense 2 *oversail* is a technical building term derived from *saillir*. This view is supported by the parallel in form between *oversail*, which is simple, and *saillir*, which according to Risop, p. 104, preserved the simple form only as '*terme d'architecture*.

[3]) 1350: Wm. of Pal., l. 3192 — *deschuuer*, inf.

[4]) *descouvroit*: 1552 — *Du Villars Mem.* III an 1552. Before 1472 — *Wavrin, Anc. Chron. d'Englet.*, p. 210. Date? — *Lariv., Nuicts* III, II.

[5]) 14—1/2: C. M., Vesp., l. 13590 — *groigned*, pt. 3 pl.

[6]) *grongeroie*: End of 12th. — *Elie de St. Gilles*, l. 930. G. gives *-er* variants as late as *Ronsard*.

[7]) 13—3/4: Lay., Otho., l. 2938 — *faillede*, pt. 3 sg. 13—2/2: Fl. and Blfl., Univ. Cbr., l. 385 — *failep*, ps. 3 sg.; K. Horn, Univ. Cbr., l. 638 — *faille*, inf.; 4 me. geistl. Ged., 2 l. 48 — *faillet*, ps. 3 sg. 13th: A. R., l. 228 — *ualse*, ps. 3 sg.; l. 404 — *failede*, pt. 3 sg.

[8]) 1340: Ayenb., p. 33 — *defayled*, p. p.

[9]) The second meaning, "present as a gift", was a comparatively late graft from the Fr. Throughout its many occurrences *offer* = 'present as sacrifice to God', from the earliest monuments to those of the 3rd decade of the 14th c. In these latter the scond meaning, 'to present as a gift in general', occurs. The first instance I have is in R. of G., Chr. I, Cal. (also in MS. Harl.), l. 10460 — *offrede*, pt. 3 sg.

[10]) 13th: A. R., l. 294 — *recoilen* (trans.), inf.

around' < *recuellir, recoillir,* R (beside *recoiller*[1]) R, G); *repent*[2]) < *repentir,*[3]) R; *scent* < *sentir* < Lat. *sentire,* G, L (*assent* < Lat. *sentire,* N. E. D.; *dissent* < Lat. *dissentire,* N. E. D.); *consent*[4]) < *consentir, cunsentir,* G, L; *ensent*[5]) = 'assent', 'consent', G; *resent* < *resentir,* G, L; *serve*[6]) < *servir* < *servire,* R; *deserve*[7]) < *deservir,* G (*disdeserve* < the prec.; *misdeserve* < *deserve*; *undeserve* < *deserve*; *misserve*[8]) = 1. 'serve badly' < *messervir* (= 2. 'deprive of the services of' < *serve; ofserve*†[9]) = 'deserve' < *serve,* perhaps after *desservir,* — both prefixes having the same force); *suffer*[10]) = 1. 'endure', 2. 'permit'

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[1]) An infinitive in *-er* arose by analogy to the future, where *e* was introduced as a supporting vowel: p. e., *recoillierent. Men. de Reims* (before 1260), § 113, Wailly, G. Cf. R., pp. 58—60.

[2]) 1290: Kindh. Jesu, Laud, l. 1103 — *repent,* inf.

[3]) Godefroy hypothecates an inf. *repenter,* basing it on a fut. *reponteront* found in *Trad. du XIII s. d'une Charte de 1196. Carte du Val St. Lambert-,* Richel. 10176, f° 30d. This future rests on the contracted form *repentrai,* and it arose by analogy to — *re* verbs that sometimes introduced secondary *e* into the future, — p. e., *venderai* on *vendrai.* Cf. R., p. 56.

[4]) 13th: A. R., l. 272 — *kunsenten,* inf.

[5]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 280 l. 83 — *ensenti,* inf.

[6]) *Serve,* like *offer,* probably entered English through the doors of the church, in the meaning 'to serve God', the meaning which prevails among the earlier instances of this, the most frequently appearing *-ir* verb. As far as our monuments are concerned, however, the meaning 'serve an overlord or an equal' appears equally early, as p. e., 13—2/4: O. and N., Cal. (also in MS. Jesus), l. 1579 — *seruep,* ps. 3 sg., means 'serve an equal'. The only earlier occurrence in our monuments is in a religious poem of the last quarter of the 12th c. — The Poema Morale: MS. Lamb., 13—2/4 (also in MS. Trin.), l. 321 — *seruede,* pt. Here the meaning is 'to serve God'. In K. Horn, Univ. Cbr. (13—2/2), l. 234, *serve* occurs with the meaning 'serve a superior'.

[7]) 14—1/2: Purg. Patr., Egtn., l. 642 — *deservi,* inf.

[8]) 1340: Ayenb., p. 20 — *misserued,* p. p. Ab. 1370: Charter, Abbey of the h. Ghost, Laud (also in MS. Vern.), p. 338 — *mysserued,* p. p.

[9]) 12—2/2: O. E. H., Lamb., XXIII l. 215 — *ofseruunge,* vbl. sbs.; XXIII l. 215 — *unofserued,* p. p.

[10]) 13—3/4: Lay., Otho., l. 24856 — *soffri,* inf.; S. Brendan, Ashm., l. 372 — *soffri,* inf. 13—2/2: Vind. Salv., l. 308 — *suffred,* pt. 3 pl. Like *offer* and *serve, suffer* at first was probably an ecclesiastical word, used

< *souffrir*, [1]) R (*outsuffer* = 'surpass in suffering' < the prec.); *ish* †, *iss* † [2]) = 'go out', 'issue' < *issir*; [3]) *crush* [4]) < *cruis(s)ir*, *crois(s)ir*. [5]) In the last two verbs the stem endings in the Fr. originals undergo the same development into English as does the inchoative suffix in the extended stems of extended verbs. Cf. this investigation, pp. 67 and 68.

We have no instance of a simple verb becoming extended. As a body simple verbs remain simple in English.

2. Extended Verbs.

a) Extended Verbs without Variants.

α) French Verbs with Extended Forms that become Extended Verbs in English.

abolish < *abolir*, G; *banish* [6]) < *ban(n)ir*, L (*rebanish* < the prec. [7])); *cherish* [8]) < *cherir* < *cher*, adj., G; *demolish* < *demolir*, G (*redemolish* < the prec. Cf. Fr. *redemolir*); *disfurnish* < *desfournir*, L; *perfurnish* < *parfournir*, L; *disgarnish* < *desgarnir*, L; *regarnish* < *regarnir*, G; *embellish* [9]) < *embellir* < *en* + *bel*, adj.,

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strictly in the sense of 'suffer for God'. This is indicated by the overwhelming number of occurrences with the meaning 'suffer martyrdom' in the earlier monuments.

[1]) There and extended forms of *souffrir*, but they are only in the Poitvan dialect. Cf. R., p. 115.

[2]) Ab. 1350: R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 3466 — *isseden*, pt. 3 pl. 1350: Wm. of Pal., l. 3789 — *Iced*, pt. 3 pl.

[3]) *issir* remained pure because the stem ending already gave to the verb the appearance of an ext. verb. This similarity was destroyed when the initial *i* was replaced by *u* < *ui*, as in Mod. Fr. *reussir*, *reussiss*. Cf. R., p. 106.

[4]) 1310: Havelok, l. 1992 — *alto-cruhsse*, inf. = 'crush to pieces'.

[5]) *cruis(s)ir*, *crois(s)ir* remained simple probably for the same reason that *issir* did.

[6]) 14—2/2: M. P., XLVII l. 490 — *banischt*, p. p.

[7]) Cotgrave gives *rebannir*. Cf. *N. E. D.*

[8]) 14—1/2: C. M., Vesp., l. 12174 — *cherising*, ps. p.; R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 8758 — *cherisched*, pt. 3 sg.

[9]) (1377—99) 15th.: Gawain, l. 1034 — *enbelyse*, inf.

G (*reembellish* < the prec.); *flourish* [1]) < *florir*, L (*enflourish* < the prec.; *outflourish* < *flourish*; *overflourish* < *flourish*; *reflourish* < *flourish* [2])); *fremish*† = 'waver' < *fremir* < Pop. Lat. *fremīre* < C. L. *fremĕre*, G; *furbish* [3]) < *fourbir* < Teut. *furbjan*, G (*refurbish* < the prec.); *gladish*† = 'to bark' < *glatir* < Med. Lat. *glattīre*, G; *honish* [4]) = 'to 'disgrace' < *honir* < O. H. G. *hônen*, G; *languish* [5]) < *languir* < **languīre* < *languēre* < *languescere*, G; *munish*† = 'fortify' < *munir*, L; *perish* [6]) < *perir*, R; *disperish*† = 'perish' < *desperir*; *plenish* < *plenir* [7]) < √ *plen-*, G (*displenish*, Scotch, = 'disfurnish' < the prec.; *explenish* < *plenish*); *replenish* [8]) < *replenir*, G; *polish* [9]) < *polir*, G, L (*expolish* = 'polish exquisitely', assimilated from *expolite*; *interpolish*† = 'polish here and there' < *polish*; *repolish* < *polish*; *unpolish* < *polish*); *poverish* = 'impoverish' < *po(u)verir*, [10]) G; *punish* [11]) < *punir*, G, L (*overpunish* < the prec.; *repunish* < *punish*); *tarnish* < *ternir* < *terne* = 'dull', adj. < O. H. G. *tarni*, G, L; *vanquish* < *ve(i)nquir* (Mod. Fr. *vaincre*), R, L; *convanquish* = 'vanquish' < *convainquir* (Mod. Fr. *convaincre*) R, L.

β) French Verbs with Extended Forms that become Simple Verbs in English.

applaud < *applaudir*, L; *appall* [12]) < *apallir*, variant of

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[1]) 14—1/2: R. C. de L., Auch., l. 1845 (100) — *yflorist*, p. p.

[2]) A possible source is *reflorir*.

[3]) 14—2/2: 12 Profits, p. 50 — *furblisshand*, ps. p.

[4]) 14—2/2: A. and M., Auch., l. 9205 — *hunist*, p. p.

[5]) Ab. 1350: R. of B, Chr. I, Lamb., l. 8966 — *languisched*, pt. 3 sg. 1350: E. E. Psalter, Add., Ps. 87 vs. 9 — *languissed*, pt. 3 pl. 14th.: R. R. H., Epistles, p. 32 — *languysch*, ps. 1 sg.

[6]) End of 13th.: O. Kent. Serm., p. 32 — *perisset*, ps. 1 pl.

[7]) The single instance given by G. could belong as well to a simple as to an ext. verb. The examples of *replenir*, however, show ext. forms.

[8]) (14—2/2) 15—1/2: R. R. H., P. C., Harl., l. 8908 — *replenyst*, vbl. adj.

[9]) 14—1/2: C. M., Vesp., l. 9887 — *polist*, p. p. 14th.: R. R. H. Epistles, p. 23 — *polysyng*, vbl. adj.

[10]) The single instance given by G. could belong as well to a simple as to an ext. verb.

[11]) End of 13th.: Vind. Salv., l. 1962 — *unpunysshed*, vbl. adj.

[12]) Before 1350: Wm. of Sh. p. 87 l. 32 — *a-ppaleþ*, ps. 3 sg.

apalir < ? (*pall*, aphetic of *appall*); *blanch* [1]) = 'blench', 'flinch' < *blanchir* < Med. Lat. *blancus*, of Teut. origin, G; *blank* = 'whiten', 'render void', 'frustrate' < O. N. F. *blanquir*, [2]) N. E. D., G; < *disobey* < *desobeir*, G; *endolour* < *endolorir*, L; *endulce*† = 'sweeten', 'perfume' < *endoulcir* < *en* + *doulce*, adj., G; *farce*, *farsy* = 'stuff in cooking', 'stuff' < *farsir*, G, L (*interfarce* = 'stuff in between' < the prec.); *enfarce* = 'stuff with forcemeat' < *enfarsir*, G, L; *flanch* = 'to spread out' (Cf. *flange*) < *flanchir*, variant of *flechir*, G; *flange* = 'flanch' < *flangir*, variant of *flanchir*, G; *flecche*† [3]) = 'to bend' (Cf. *flinch*) < *flechir*, G; *flinch* = 'flecche' < *flinchir*, *flenchir*, variants of *flechir*, G; *mute* = 'pass excrement', — said of birds < *esmuetir*, *esmeutir*, perhaps < Teut. *smelt-*, G; *quat* = 'strike down' < *qua(i)tir* < *coactus*, G (*overquat* = 'overfill, glut' < the prec.); *reune* = 'reunite' < *reunir*, L; *travest*† < *travestir*, L; *vome* = 'to vomit' < *vomir*, L.

The stems of *blanch*, *flanch*, *flinch*, *flecche* end in a sound so similar to that of the *š* form of the suffix that we might suppose a process akin to dissimilation took place. *Blanchish*, *flanchish*, etc. sound awkward to English ears and would hardly survive in English speech. *Flange* became simple in analogy to *flanch*. The simple form, *blank* = 'render void', as opposed to an extended *blankish*, had the analogical support of the adj. *blank* in the sense of "empty, void", and the noun *blank* in the sense of "a void". *Endolour* had the analogical support of the noun *dolour*. *Disobey* and *travest* were supported by *obey* and *vest*. *Applaud*, *appall*, *endulce*, *farce*, *enfarce*, *mute*, *quat*, *reune*, *vome*, of which only the first two survived, may be regarded as the few *-ir* verbs having only extended forms that became simple.

γ) French Verbs with Extended Forms that give both Simple and Extended Verbs in English.

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[1]) 1370—80: P. P., A, Vern., VI l. 70 — *Blenchen*, inf. 14—2/2: Tristrem, Auch., l. 2779 — *bleynt*, ps. 3 sg.

[2]) G. gives a p. p. *blanquis* under *blanchir*.

[3]) 1340: Ayenb., l. 253 — *flechchi*, inf.

abash [1]) and *esbay* † < *e(s)bair* < *bah!*, G; *burnish* [2]) and *burnen* † < *burnir*, variant of *brunir*, G; *ennoblish* † and *ennoble* < *ennoblir* < *en* + *noble*, adj., G; *envahisshe* and *envaye* † (= 'invade') < *envahir*, G; *forbanish* † [3]) and *forban* † [4]) (= 'banish') < *forbannir* < *for* + *bannir*, G; *furnish* and *furney* † [5]) < *fornir*, *furnir* < O. H. G. *frumjan*, G, L (*refurnish* < the prec.; *underfurnish* < *furnish*; *unfurnish* < *furnish*); *palish* † and *pale* [6]) (= 'become or render pale') < *palir*, G; *ravish* [7]) and *rave* †, Scotch, < *ravir* < Pop. Lat. **rapīre* < *rapere*, G; *relinquish* and *relinque* < *relinquir* (Mod. Fr. *relinquer*) G; *stablish* [8]) and *stable* † [9]) (= 'establish') < *establir*, G; *establish* and *estable* † < *establir*, G (*preestablish* < *establish*; *reestablish* < *establish*; *unestablish* < *establish*); *traish* † [10]) and *tray* † [11]) (= 'betray') < *trair* < *tradire* † < *tradĕre*, G, L; *betraish* † [12]) and *betray* [13]) < *trair*, < *tradire* † < *tradĕre*, L; *warnish* †, [14]) *garnish*, [15]) = 'provide', 'furnish', 'equip', and *warnen* † [16]) = 'furnish with men, arms,

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[1]) End of 13th.: Vind. Salv., l. 217 — *abashyd*, pt. 3 sg.

[2]) Ab. 1350: R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 10029 — *yburnuscht*, p. p.

[3]) 14—2/2: B. of H., Auch., l. 4309 — *forbanniiste*, vbl. adj.

[4]) 13—2/4: O. and N., Cal. (also in MS. Jesus, Oxf., 13—2/2), l. 1093 — *for-bonne*, inf. (The sole occurrence.)

[5]) Ab. 1350: Rich. C. de L., Caius, l. 5517 — *furneye*, imper.

[6]) (1377—99) 15th.: E. E. Allit. P., Pearl, l. 1004 — *pale*, inf.

[7]) 1320—30: R. of G., Chr., Cal., l. 4001 — *rauisset*, ps. 2 sg.

[8]) (14—4/4) 1350: E. E. Psalter, Add., Ps. 2 vs. 6 — *stablyst*, p. p.

[9]) 1307—27: Chr. of Engl., l. 310 — *stablede*, pt. 3 sg.

[10]) 1350: Wm. of Pal., ll. 2075, 4769 — *traysted*, p. p. Ab. 1350: R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 5459 — *trayscht*, p. p.

[11]) 1308—18: Kildare Ged., p. 108 l. 83 — *traiid*, pt. 3 sg.

[12]) 14—1/2: C. M., Vesp., l. 15272 — *betrais*, inf. Ab. 14—1/2: R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 5061 — *bitraischt*, p. p.

[13]) 13—3/4: Lay, Otho, l. 8923 — *bi-traie*, inf.

[14]) 1350: E. E. Psalter, Add., Ps. 59 vs. 10 — *warnist*, vbl. adj.; Wm. of Pal., l. 1083 — *warnished*, vbl. adj. Ab. 1350: R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 7911 — *warnyscht*, pt. 3 sg.

[15]) (1377—99) 15th.: E. E. Allit. P., Cleanness, l. 137 — *un-garnyst*, p. p.

[16]) *warnen* is not given by the *Century Dict'y*. The following is its sole occurrence. 14th.: E. E. Psalter, Trin. Dubl., Ps. 59 vs. 10 "who shall lade me in-to a cite ywarnyd (MS. Add. has *warnist*), & who shall lade me in-to

and provisions' < *garnir*, *warnir* < Med. Lat. *g(u)arnire* < O. H. G. *warnon*, G (*ingarnish*† < *garnish* [1])).

The following simple forms were given off beside the extended ones: *esbay*, *burnen*, *ennoble*, *envaye*, *forban*, *furney*, *pale*, *rave*, *stable*, *estable*, *tray*, *betray*, *warnen*. The extended form survives — wherever either form survives — except in the case of *ennoble* and *pale*, and *betray*. *Ennoble* and *pale* had the analogical support of the adjectives *noble* < Fr. *noble* and *pale* < Fr. *palle*, *pale*. The survival of *betray* over *betraish* is a solution of the vowel situation brought about by the addition of a suffix beginning with a vowel to a stem ending with a vowel. The forms *aba-ish*, *obe-ish*, *rejo-ish*, and *betra-ish* give way eventually to the syncopated form, as in the case of *abash* (Cf. this investigation, p. 67); or to the form with a diphthong, as in the case of *rejoice*; or to a simple form, as in the case of *obey* and *betray*.

b) Extended Verbs with *-er* Variants.

α) The French Verbs with Extended Forms give Extended, the *-er* Variants, Simple Verbs, in English.

affeeblish† = 'enfeeble' < *afeblir* [2]) < *feble*, adj., beside *affeeble*† < *afeblier* [3]) < *feble*, adj.; *enfeeblish*† < *enfeblir*, [4]) G, beside *enfeeble* < *enfeblier*, [5]) G; *anientish*† [6]) = 'bring to nought'

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ydume?" The source of the E. E. Psalter is the Vulgate Bible, — cf. Bibliography. The earliest edition available to me was printed at Nuremberg in 1479. *Biblia Sacra Versionis Vulgata, cum Epistola Santola Sancti Hieronymi.* This reads: "quis deducet me in civitate munita, etc." Evidently, *warnen* in the quotation above, means 'to garrison, to supply with men, arms and provisions', which is one of the meanings of *garnish, warnish.*

[1]) A possible source is *engarnir.*

[2]) *afebli*: 1188 — *Florimont*, B. N., l. 15101, f° 91ᵃ.

[3]) *affoibla*: 1188—1200 — *Partonopeus*, Richel. 19152, f° 166ᵃ.

[4]) *enfiebli*: 13—2/2 — *Pierre d'Abernun, Secré de Secrez*, Richel., 25407, f° 191ᵃ.

[5]) G. hypothecates an inf. *enfeblier, enflebier*, which he bases on the following, found in *Oresme* († 1382) *Politiq.*, f° 186ᵃ, Edn. 1489: "L'ame sensitive laquelle est enfeblie" and "Que l'enne enflebie la loy". The *N. E. D.* derives *enfeeble* from *enfeblir.* It must be admitted that G.'s hypothetical *-er* form is not established by only two examples.

[6]) Ab. 1400: P. P., C., Vesp., XX l. 267 — *anentesch*, inf. Cf. Note 4 below.

< *anientir* [1]) < *a* + *nient* < *nec* + *entem*, G, beside *aniente*† [2]) < *anienter* [3]) < *a* + *nient*, etc., G; *baubish* = 'astonish' < *ab(a)ubir* [4]) < *ad* + *balbum*, G, beside *abave*† < Norm. *abauber* [5]); *blandish* [6]) < *blandir*, [7]) *G*; beside *bland*† [8]) < *blander*, [9]) G; *chevish*† [10]) = 'attain an end' < *chevir* [11]) < *chef*, sbs., G, beside *cheve* [12]) = 1. 'attain an end', 2. 'bring to an end'. (Aphetic of *achieve* < *achever*) < *chever* [13]) < *chef*, sbs.; *empoverish* < *empov(e)rir* < *povre*, adj., G, beside *empover*† < *empov(e)rer*, [14]) G (*impoverish* beside *impover*†, later forms of *empoverish* and *empover*); *esclarish*† = 'clear up' < *esclarir* [15]) < L. L. **exclīrāre* < *clarus* beside *esclare*† < *esclarer* [15]) (Mod. Fr. *éclairer* < *exclārāre* < *clarus*, G; *eslargish*† < *eslargir* < *es* + *large*, adj., G, beside *eslarge*† < *eslarger* [16]) < *es* + *large*, G; *finish* [17]) < *finir* < *fīnīre*, R,

[1]) *anientir*: 1188—1200 — *Partonopeus*, 6714.

[2]) Ab. 1400: P. P., C., Phillips, XX l. 267 — *anyente*, inf. Cf. Note 2 above.

[3]) *anientez* < *anienter*: 12—3/4 — *Ben. D. de Norm.*, Michel, II l. 5093.

[4]) *s'abaubissoit*: Original, ab. 1200 — *Athis*, Richel. 375, f° 139d.

[5]) Cf. *N. E. D.* There are no instances of an *abauber* in G. or L.

[6]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 97 l. 165 — *blaundisinge*, vbl. sbs.

[7]) *blandist* < *blandir*: 12—3/4 — *Ben. D. de Norm.*, Michel, II l. 15312.

[8]) 1340: Ayenb., p. 75 — *blonding*, ps. p. Before 1350: Wm. of Sh., p. 71 l. 2028 — *blondeþ*, ps. 3 pl.

[9]) *blanda*: 1288 — *Renart le Nouvel*, Meon, l. 2929. The *N. E. D.* derives *bland* from *blandir*.

[10]) 14—1/2: C. M., Vesp.: l. 6409 — *cheues*, imper. 2 sg.; l. 8329. — *cheuis*, inf.

[11]) *chevira*: 1174—76 — *Garnier de P. Ste. Max., Vie de S. Thom.*, l. 4903.

[12]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 231 l. 414 — *schef*, pt. 3 sg. 13—4/4: S. Brendan, Ashm., l. 408 — *scef*, pt. 3 sg.

[13]) *cheve*: Bef. 1216 — *Chardry, Petit Plet*, Koch, l. 1176.

[14]) *empoveres*, p. p.: *Stat. d'Edouard III, an II*, Goth. Bibl. Louvre. The *N. E. D.* derives *empover* from *empovrir*.

[15]) Early and frequent instances given by G.

[16]) G. gives instances of *eslargier*, *-er* from *Romaunt d. l. rose* (MS. Corsini) from the *Rom. des romans* (13—2/2), etc. The *N. E. D.* derives *eslarge* from *eslargir*, and *alarge* from *alargir*. It is more probable that *alarge* also, comes from an *-er* variant. G. gives examples of an *alarger* as early as *J. de Priorat* (1284).

[17]) 1350: Wm. of Pal. l. 5398 — *finischid*, p. p.

beside *fine*† [1]) < *finer* [2]) < Com. Rom. *finare* < *finis*, G (*perfinish*† = 'finish' thoroughly' < *finish* [3])); *g(u)arish*†, *warish*† = 'to cure', 'heal' < *g(u)arir*, *warir* < Teut. **warjan*, G, beside *gare*! [4]) = 'take care!' < *gare*! imper. of *garer* < Teut. **warjan*, G; *hardiss*† [5]) = 'embolden' < *hardir* < *hard*, adj., G, beside *enhard*† < *enhardier* [6]) < *hard*, adj., G; *replevish*† = 'to replevy' < *replevir* [7]), G, beside *replevy*, *repleve*† (= 'bail out', a law term) < A. F. *replever* [8]).

Only 6 of these verbs remain in English; but these are sufficient to indicate that the English derivative of the *-er* by-form is of the same sporadic nature as its original. Where it survives, it has the analogical support of a corresponding adjective — as, *feeble*, Fr. *feble*, — or a closely related verb — as in the case of *cheve*, by analogy to *achieve*. (*Gare*! imper. of *garer*, of course, is an exceptional derivative.) On the other hand, *blandish* (where the survival of the simple form by analogy to the adjective *bland* would not have been surprising), *empoverish*,

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[1]) 14—1/2: C. M., Vesp., l. 7205 — *fin*, inf.; C. M., Royal Coll. of Phys., l. 19423 — *finid*, pt. 3 sg.

[2]) *fine*: 13—1/4 — *Amaldas et Ydoine*, Richel. 375 f° 317 g.

[3]) Influenced by *par*, — *perfinir* or Med. Lat. *perfinire*.

[4]) In the case of *gare*, perhaps we have the very source whence the Engl. word was taken. The *N. E. D.* gives three instances of *gare*: the first, 1653, Urquhart, *Rabelais* I, XXVII. "He hurried therefore upon them so rudely without crying *gare* or *beware*." The translator has taken *gare* out of his original. G. gives a passage similar to the one whence the above instance was taken. Rab. Quart., Liv. XLIV: "Les Papimanes quelques jours apres, sanz dire guare, se mirent tous en armes." The last instance given by the *N. E. D.*, where the word is used as a simple imperative, also has a Fr. forerunner in Rabelais: 1896 — C. Dick, *Ways World*, l. 35: "But gare how your secret she gleans." Rab. Quart., Liv. XXXIII: "Guare! voy le ci."

[5]) 1320—30: R. of G., Chr. I, Cal., l. 4465 — *hardissi*, inf.

[6]) *enhardya*: 13—2/2 — *J. d'Anton, Chron.*, Richel. 5082, f° 19 v°. The *N. E. D.* derives *enhard* from *enharder*.

[7]) *replevissent*: 13/14 — *Doon de Maience*, 1165, A. P.

[8]) The N. E. D. gives this form, *replever*, but it derives *replevy* from *replevir*.

and *finish* represent the common surviving form of the Fr. original.

β) The French Verbs with Extended Forms give Extended Verbs in English; the *-er* Variants do not reproduce themselves.

brandish [1]) < *brandir* [2]) (beside *brander*), [3]) G; *blemish* [4]) < *blai(s)mir*, [5]) *ble(s)mir* (beside *blai(s)mer*, [6]) *ble(s)mer*), G, L (*blench*, [7]) variant of *blemish*); *crampish* † [8]) = 'become cramped' < *crampir* (beside *cramper*), [9]) of Teut. origin, G; *delinquish* † = 'be quilty' [10]) < *delinquir* = '*commettre un delit*' (beside *delinquer* [11]) with the the same meaning) *favorish* = 'to favor' < *favorir* [12]) (beside *favorer*);[13]) *feeblish* † < *foiblir*,[14]) *feblir* (beside Mod. Fr. *febloier*) < *feble*, adj., G; *fretish* † = 'be chilled' (used in passive only) < *freidir*,[15]) *froidir* (beside

[1]) 1350: Wm. of Pal., l. 2322 — *brandissende*, ps. p. 14th.: E. E. Psalter, Trin. Dubl., Ps. 7 vs. 13 *braundesch*, inf.

[2]) *brandir*: *Rol.*, Müller, l. 1249; 1188 — *Florimont*, Richel. 353, f° 36 b.

[3]) *brande*: 1170—1200 — *Jord. Fantosme*, *Chron.*, l. 958, ap. Michel, *D. de Norm.* III; etc.

[4]) 14—2/2: Athelston, l. 588 — *unblemeschyd*, vbl. adj. 14th.: R. R. H., Epistles, 1 l. 9 — *blemysand*, ps. p.

[5]) *blesmie*: *Rol.*, Müller, l. 590.

[6]) *blesmad*: *Rois*, Ler. de Lincey, p. 289.

[7]) 1350: Wm. of Pal., l. 2471 — *blenched*, p.p.

[8]) *crampist*, ps. ind. 3 sg. = '*être tordu*': Date? *Senefiance de l'abc*, Richel. 837, f° 127 c.

[9]) *cramper* = '*tordre*': Date? *Fulyot. Eleg. de la belle fille*, p. 251.

[10]) The *N. E. D.'s* derivation of *delinquish* from Lat. *delinquere* = 'fail, omit one's duty' is more probable semantically than the derivation given above. On the other hand the gap between the meanings 'to commit a fault' and 'to be guilty' was not a difficult one to bridge, and the opportunities for borrowing from a French source were more frequent and more insistant.

[11]) *delinquent:* 28 févr. 1429, Roisin, ms. Lille 266, f° 176.

[12]) *favorir*: 1553 — *Negoc. de la France dans le Lav.* II, l. 279, etc.

[13]) *favorez*: 1413—22 — *Stat. de Henri V*, impr. Goth. Bibl. Louvre; *faveure*, G.

[14]) *flebir*: 1188 — *Florimont*, Richel. 353, f° 24 b; *foiblisse*: 1294 — *Coutume de Dijon*, Richel. l. 9873, f° 35 v°.

[15]) *froide* = *refroidir* (active): Original, ab. 1200 — *Athis*, Richel. f° 125 h; Date? — MS. Ars. 3312, f° 20 a.

froidier)[1] < *freid*, adj., G; *perimplish*† = 'to complete' < *peremplir*[2]) (beside *perempler*),[3]) G; *planish* = 'make smooth' < *planir*,[4]) Mod. Fr. *aplanir* (beside *planer*),[5]) G; *tap(p)ish*†[6]) = 'to hide' < *tapir*[7]) (beside *taper*),[8]) G; (*untappish*† = 'come out of hiding' < the prec.).

γ) The French *-er* Variants give Simple Verbs in English; the Extended Forms do not reproduce themselves.

a(d)dulce†, *a(d)doulce*†, *a(d)douce*† = 'sweeten', 'soothe' < *adulcer*[9]) (beside *a(d)doulcir*) < *douce*, adj., G (*douce*† = 'sweeten', aphetic of *a(d)douce*); *avile*†[10]) = 'make vile' < *aviler*[11]) (beside Mod. Fr. *avilir*)[12]) < Rom. **advīlāre* < *ad* + *vilis* = 'cheap', G; *bail* = 'deliver (goods) in trust' < *bai(l)lier*,[13]) *bai(l)ler* (beside *baillir*),[13]) G; *bound* = 'to recoil' < *bonder*,[14]) *bondier* = 'resound', 'make resound' (beside *bondir*[15]) = 'resound',

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[1]) *froidier* = '*se refroidir*': Date? — *Athis*. MS. St. Petersb. 54, f° 5°. *froident* = *refroidir* (active): *Le Grant Herbier Nyverd*., f° 88 v°.

[2]) *paremplir*: 1205—70 — *Est. Boileau*, *Liv. d. Mest*., Lespinasse et Bonnardot, Ire., p. LXXXI; 13—1/2 — *Horn*, Michel, l. 3888.

[3]) *paremple(s)*: 12th. — *Destr. de Rome*, Gröber, l. 950.

[4]) *planis* = '*aplanir*': 1520 — *Palsgrave*, *Esclarie*, Genin, p. 659. The Norm. form is *planir*. *Planer* = '*egaler avec la plane*.'

[5]) *plané* = '*aplanir*': 12—2/2 — *Chev. au Lyon*, Holland, l. 3385. *planier*: *Rois*, Ler. de Lincey, p. 420.

[6]) 1370—80: Altengl. Legdn., 1878, p. 70 l. 499 — *i tapissed*, vbl. adj.

[7]) *thapir* = ('*tamponner*', '*renfermer*') '*se cacher*': 13—1/2 — *Horn*, Michel, l. 3890.

[8]) *tapee* = '*tapper*', '*arrêter*', '*jeter*', '*donner contre*': 12—2/2 — *Chrest. Perceval*, l. 5556.

[9]) *adulcez*: 1172—6 — *Ben. D. de Norm*., Michel, II l. 8798; etc. The *N. E. D*. derives *adulce* from *adoulcir*.

[10]) 1320—30: R. of G., Chr. I, Cal., l. 10179 — *avilede*, pt. 3 pl.

[11]) *aviler*: 1172—6 — *Ben. D. de Norm*., Andresen, II l. 8581.

[12]) *avillir*: before 1164 — *Chrest., Eric*, B. N. 375, f° 7°.

[13]) Early and frequent instances given by G.

[14]) *bonder*: Ab. 1223 — *G. de Coinci*, *Mir*. MS. Soiss., f° 163°: Ab. 1386 — *Chandos*, *Prince Noir*, Coxe, l. 1107. *bondie*: 14—2/2 — *Bast. de Buillon*, Scheler, l. 831.

[15]) In the 15th c., according to the *N. E. D*., *bondir*, together with *rebondir* and *rebonder*, took on the additional meaning 'to recoil' 'spring'.

'make resound'), G; *rebound* = 'to recoil' < *rebonder* [1]) = 'resound' (beside *rebondir* [1]) = 'resound', 'cause to spurt', 'chase away', 'repel'), G; *embrown* = 'darken' < *embruner* [2]) (beside *embrunir*), [3]) G; *enjoy* < *enjoer*, *enjoier* [4]) (beside *enjoir* [5])), G (*reenjoy* < the prec.); *enrich* < *enricher* [6]) (beside *enrichir*) < *riche*, adj., G; *hinny* = 'to neigh' < *henner* [7]) (beside *hennir*), G; *wenchen* † [8]) (from Stratmann-Bradley) = 'kick out' < *guenchier* [9]) (beside *guenchir*) < O. H. G. *wenchan*, *wenkan*, G.

In these cases the analogical influence of corresponding nouns and adjectives impelled the English to derive from the *-er* variants. *Bail* (< O. F. *bail* = 'jurisdiction'), *bound* [10]) (< Engl. vb.; but cf. the Fr. sbs. *bond* = 'a spring upward', 14th and 15th cc. *Hatsf.-Darmst.-Thom.*) and *rebound* [11]) (< Engl. vb.; but cf. the Fr. sbs. *rebond*, 16th c.) have corresponding nouns. *Embrown*

The *N. E. D.* derives *bound* from *bondir* instead of from *bonder*, no doubt because instances of the latter with the meaning "to recoil" were lacking. The fact that the compound *rebonder* had this meaning, however, indicates that *bonder* in this sense also existed. If it did, *bound* probably came from it rather than from its ext. variant.

[1]) G. gives two instances of *rebonder*. Cf. *bound* preceding, and Notes to it.

[2]) *enbrune*: Date? — *Etiocle et Polin.*, Richel. 375, f° 56ᵇ. *embrunee*, vbl. adj. — *Des Mesures. Eneide*, bk. VII — Ed. 1608. In both cases the meaning is 'be brown'.

[3]) *embrunir* means 'make brown'. The instances are too few to restrict *embrunir* to the active, *embruner* to the passive use. It is more probable that although instances are lacking, *embruner* was used transitively and that *embrown* comes from it rather than from *embrunir*, whence the *N. E. D.* has derived it.

[4]) *enjoie*: 13—1/3 — *Du chevalier qui fist les cons parler*, Richel. 19152, f° 58ᵇ.

[5]) *s'engoissoient*: 1237 — *Rose*, Richel. 1573, f° 23ᵇ.

[6]) *enrichier*: 13th. — *Cart. du Val. St. Lambert*, Richel. l. 10176, f° 31ᶜ; etc. The *N. E. D.* derives *enrich* from *enrichir*.

[7]) *Haner*: *Image du Monde*, MS. Montp., H., l. 437, f° 104 v°.

[8]) 13th.: A. R., l. 98. — *wenched*, imper. 2 pl.

[9]) *Guenchier*: towards 1250 — *Lancelot*, MS. Friborg, f° 11ᵃ; etc.

[10]) Earliest Engl. occurrence given by *N. E. D.* is 1553 — Udall, Royster D.

[11]) Earliest Engl. occurrence given by *N. E. D.* is 1485 — Digby Myster.

(*brown*), *enrich* (*rich*) < O. E. *rice*), and *douce* (< O. F. *dolz*) have corresponding adjectives. *Avile* could have come only from *aviler*, — as *avilir* is a later, Mod. Fr., form. *Wenchen*, no doubt, presents another instance of the dissimilation process noticed in the case of *flinch*, etc. *Hinny* is supported by *whinney* (dimin. or freq. of *whine*), which has the same meaning although it is not of Fr. origin.

3. Verbs having both Simple and Extended Forms.

a) The French Simple Forms give Simple; the Extended Forms, Extended, in English.

complish† = 1. 'fill up', 'fill',[1]) 2. 'accomplish',[2]) by the side of *comple*† = 'accomplish' < *complir*[3]) = 'fill up' (by the side of *compler*[4]) N. E. D.), R; *guerpish* = 'to abandon', by the side of *guerpe* < *guerpir* < O. L. Frankish *werpan*, R. p. 97, G;[5]) *jois(s)en*[6]) = 1. 'rejoice', 2. 'enjoy the use of', by the side of *joy*[7]) < *joir*[8]) < Pop. Lat. *guadīre*† < *gaudēre*, (*overjoy*

[1]) Among the eight instances of *complish* given by the *N. E. D.*, is one with the meaning of the Fr. original, 'fill up'. The instance is almost a play on the words *complish* and *accomplish*. Merlin (1450), IV, l. 61. "who shall fulfille the place that is voyde . . . he that shall a-complysshe that sete must also complysshe the voyde place at the table that Joseph made", i. e.: "who shall occupy (Cf. *N. E. D.* — *fulfil*, meaning No. 4) the place that is void . . . he that shall perform the duties of that place must also fill the void at the table etc."

[2]) In later times, acc. to the *N. E. D.*, *complish* = 'accomplish' is aphetic of *accomplish*. This latter apparently never had the meaning 'fill up'.

[3]) "*complir* scheint zu allen Zeiten gemischter Bildung gewesen zu sein", R. p. 116. Its primary meaning is 'fill up'.

[4]) G. gives no instance of *compler*.

[5]) G. has hypothecated an infinitive *guerper*, based on a future *guerperai*. (The other examples he gives are *guerpont*, ps. 3 pl., and *guerpe*, sbj. The former could, the latter does, belong to a simple *guerpir* But this future does not belong to an *-er* vb., its form being due to the entrance of a secondary *e*. Cf. R., p. 53 and p. 56, Note.

[6]) 1340: Ayenb., p. 25 — *ioisseþ*, ps. 3 sg.

[7]) 1310: Havelok, l. 2087 — *joynge*, vbl. sbs.

[8]) *joist*: 13—1/2 — *Chevalier a l'espee*, l. 1061 beside *s'esjoent*: 1772—6 — *Chr. D. de Norm.*, l. 14544.

< *joy*) R; *rejoice*,[1]) *-ish* by the side of *rejoy*[2]) < *rejoir*,[3]) G; *nourish*,[4]) *-ice*,[5]) *-ich*, *nor(i)sh*†,[6]) *nur(i)sh*†, by the side of *nourry*†, *norry*† < *norir* (beside Agn. *nurrer*),[7]) R; *obeish*†,[8]) by the side of *obey*[9]) < *obeir*,[10]) G, N. E. D. *resplendish*† by the side of *resplend*[11]) < *re(s)plendir*,[12]) R.

b) The French Simple Forms give Simple Verbs in English; the Extended Forms do not reproduce themselves.

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[1]) 1350: Wm. of Pal., l. 4102 — *reioische*, inf. The *c* in *rejoice* is a diacritical variant of *s*. Cf., also, *nourice*, *nourich*.

[2]) Before 1350: Wm. of Sh., p. 91 l. 169 — *reio(ye)þ*, ps. 3 sg.

[3]) G. gives an example of the simple form: — *resjoye*: 15th. — Greban, l. 1964.

[4]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 20 l. 22 — *norischci*, inf., etc.; Kindh. Jesu, Laud, l. 1554 — *i norisched*, p. p.

[5]) The following include all the instances of the form with *c* that have been found in the course of this investigation. K. Alis., l. 6576 — *noriceth*, ps. 3 sg.; Ayenb., l. 9 — *norici*, inf.; E. S-E. Legdy., p. 449 l. 2 — *i-noriced*, p. p., R. of B., Chr. I., Lamb. 6998 — *norice*, inf.

[6]) The following include all the occurrences of the contracted form *norsch* that have been found in the course of this investigation. G. of W. Reinb., vs. 66 l. 2 — *norschede*, pt. 1 sg.; Otuel, l. 362 — *norssched*, p. p.; R. of G., A., l. 1450 — *inorssed*, p. p., l. 1567 — *norssi*, inf.; P. P., C, Phillipps and Corpus, XIII l. 234 — *norsshe*þ, ps. 3 sg.; Inform. Alr., l. 445 — *nursche*, inf., l. 875 — *ynursched*, p. p.; Sweetness of Jesus, l. 29 — *norsched*, pt. 3 sg.

[7]) Based on the historically correct *nourre*, *neure* — the simple variant's ps. ind. 3 sg., with the supporting vowel — is an Agn. *nurrer* (Cf. G., and R., p. 117) formed by analogy to those verbs of the *-er* conj'n. that had the supporting vowel in the ps. ind. 3 sg.

[8]) (1377—99) 15th.: E. E. Allit. P., Pearl, l. 886 — *obes*, ps. 3 pl.; Cleanness, l. 745 — *obeched*, pt. 3 sg.

[9]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 76 l. 179 — *obeien*, inf.

[10]) "Certain parts of the Fr. vb. (e. g., pr. ppl. *obéissant*, 3 pl. ps. *obéissent* have the lengthened stem *obéiss* (L. type **obēdīscĕre*) whence the Engl. secondary verb. *obeish*, *obeis*. —" *N. E. D.* G. gives no examples of this lengthened form.

[11]) *resplend* could come also from Lat. *resplendere* (Cf. *N. E. D.*) or from Fr. *resplendre*. Forms of *resplendre* occur as early as the middle of the 13th c. — *resplent*: *Flore et Blancheflor*. 1re vers. 1608 Du Meril.

[12]) *resplendissent*: 1172—6 *Ben. D. de Norm.*, l. 26128 beside *resplent*: the same, l. 10489.

affere†, *effere*† (North. *affeir*, *effeir*) = 'belong to' < *aferir* [1]) < L. L. *afferire*, R (*fere*†, aphetic of *affere*); *interfere* < *s'entreferir* [2]) < *ferīre*, R; *asserve*† [3]) = 1. 'serve', 'attend', 2. 'deserve' < *asservir*, [4]) by the side of *asserver*, [5]) R, G; *avert* < *avertir*, [6]) R, G; *convert* [7]) < *convertir*, [8]) R (*misconvert*† < the prec.; *reconvert* < *convert*); *divert* < *divertir*, R; *pervert* < *pervertir*, [8]) R (*unpervert* = 'recover from being a pervert' < the prec.); *revert* [9]) < *revertir* [10]) (beside *reverter*) [11]), R; *subvert* < *subvertir*, R; *transvert*† < **transvertir*, R; *boil* [12]) < *boillir*, [13])

[1]) *afferissoit*: *Cleom.*, l. 17068 and *Adenet* (1272—89), cf. R., p. 105, by the side of *aferoit*; *Cleom.*, ll. 17825, 17672.

[2]) *Entreferir* showed ext. forms before it died out, R., p. 105: *ferissoit*: Beginning 15th. — *Mem. Marésh. de Boucicaut*, p. 22.

[3]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 220 l. 24 — *a-serui*, inf.; Purg. Patr., Laud, l. 601 — *aseruest* = 'deserve', ps. 2 sg.; 13—4/4: Purg. Patr., Ashm., l. 558 — *aseruy*, inf.

[4]) *esservissant*: 1290 — *Ch. des Compt de Dole*, A. Doubs, B l. 646. About the same time is *asservoient* (taken from G.): 13th/15th. — *Vie des Peres*, Ars., l. 3641, f° 108ᵇ, "*asservir* dagegen folgt, als Ableitung von *serf*, natürlich stets der Inchoativkonjugation, z. B. etc.", R., p. 113. Among R.'s examples, however, are simple forms. G.'s examples are mostly simple.

[5]) *s'asserve*: 1226—30 — *Rechus de Mol. De Charite*, Richel. 23111, f° 219ᵇ.

[6]) *avertist*: 1340 — *P. Lefebre, Resp. de la Mort*: Richel. 994, f° 22ᵃ, etc. (Quoted from G.). R., p. 112, gives two instances, both simple. The latter is *s'avert*: 14—1/4 — *Otinel*, l. 1065.

[7]) Before 1350: E. E. Psalter, Add., Ps. 6 vs. 10. — *conuerted*, p. p. Ab. 1350: R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 15319 — *conuerted*, p. p.

[8]) Originally simple. — R., p. 112.

[9]) 1340: Ayenb., l. 128 — *reuerteþ*, ps. 3 sg. (the only occurrence in our material).

[10]) Of R.'s instances the latest simple form is *revert*: 12—3/4 — *D. de Norm.*, l. 39707; the earliest ext. form is *revertist*: Early 13th. — *Roman de la Viol.*, l. 286.

[11]) *reverter* = 'retourner': *Year Books, Edw. I* (1273—1307), XXX, XXXI, Rer. Brit. Script., p. 99.

[12]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 295 l. 70 — *boylede*, pt. 3 sg.; Purg. Patr., Laud, l. 311 — *boillinde*, pr. p. 13—4/4: S. Jul., II l. 172 — *boili*, vbl. adj.; Purg. Patr., Ashm., l. 358 — *boilynde*, ps. p.

[13]) Usually simple, R. p. 103. R. gives an ext. form *bolissant* from *Dial. Greg.*, ll. 210, 211.

R *emboil*† = 'cause to boil', 'agitate with rage' < the prec. *reboil* < *boil*); *cull*,[1]) *coil* < *cuellir*,[2]) *coillir* (beside *cuoellier*,[3]) *cueiller*), R (*upcoil* < the prec.; *uncoil* < *coil*); *accoil*† = 'gather' < *accuellir*, *accoillir*, R (beside Mod. Fr. *accueiller*); *cover* [4]) < *co(u)vrir* [5]) (beside *couvrer*),[6]) R (*encover* < the prec.; *overcover* < *cover*; *uncover* < *cover*); *glut* < *glotir*, R; *march* [7]) = 'border upon' < *marchir* [8]) < *marche* < Got. *marka*, R; *part* [9]) = 1. 'to divide', 'separate', 'share'; 2. 'leave' < *partir* [10]) = 'to divide', R (*topart* = 'to divide' < the prec.; *underpart* < *part*); *compart* < *compartir*, R, G; *depart* [11]) = 1. 'to divide', 'separate', 2. 'leave' <

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[1]) 14—1/2: R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 2731 — *colede*, pt. 3 sg.

[2]) One ext. dial. form is given by R., p. 104: *Rom.*, VII p. 61, IX p. 7 — *cueillissez*, imper.

[3]) *cuoellier*: Early 14th. — *Rose.* Vat. Ott., l. 1212. *cuilliee*, p. p.: 1371 — *Rose.* Vat. Chr., l. 1858. *queillei* : *baillai*: 1335 — *Ph. de Vitry*, Tarbé, p. 86. *queillier* : *apaisier*: After 1316 (MS. of the 14th.). — *Baud. Serb.*, XVI, 71. *quoillier*: Ab. 1350 — *Bast. Buill*, ll. 2522, 3636. R., pp. 58—60, shows that these forms arose by analogy to *cueille*, ps. 3 sg., and *cueillerai*, where *e* was introduced as a supporting vowel. (Cf. R., p. 58, for Förster's opinion that an *-er* by-form existed in O. F.)

[4]) 13—1/2: Hali Meidenh., ll. 11, 41. — *coueringe*, ps. p. 290; E. S-E. Legdy., p. 210 l. 352 — *coueri*, inf.

[5]) One late dial. ext. form given by R. — *couvrissez*, imper.: Undated — *Vielles Chans. du Velay et du Forez*, Romania, VII, XXIII, variants to Str. 10.

[6]) R., p. 18, gives a fut. form of the 16th c., where the introduction of *e* as a supporting vowel was followed by metathesis.

[7]) Ab. 1350: R. of B., Chr. I, Lamb., l. 7929 — *marchen*, ps. 3 pl.

[8]) R., p. 99, finds only a few simple forms: *marche*: 1268. — *Claris*, l. 18617, etc., by the side of *marchist*: Before 1188. — *Parton.*, l. 6503.

[9]) 13—4/4: S. Brendan, Ashm., l. 264 — *parti* = 'to divide', inf. 13—2/2: O. E. Misc., Jesus, IX l. 27 — *parted*, p. p.; Fl. and Bl., Cbr., l. 387 — *parte*, inf. 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 226 l. 264 — *party*, inf. 13th. A. R., l. 64. — *parteþ*, ps. 3 sg.

[10]) *partir* soon began to become ext., R. p. 110. R. gives simple forms as late as 1350, *partans*: *Brun. Mont.* l. 1312, and ext. forms as early as the *Roland*: *partissent*, l. 3549.

[11]) 1290: — E. S-E. Legdy., p. 121 l. 527 — *departede* = 'to leave', pt. 3 sg. p. 240 l. 726 — *departeden ato* (= *atwo*) = 'to separate', pt. 3 pl.; — Kindh. Jesu, Laud, l. 813 — *departing*, vbl. sbs. 13—2/2: — Fl. and Bl.,

departir [1]) = 'to divide', R, G (*misdepart*† = 'distribute unfairly' < the prec. Cf. *mespartir*, R); *repart* < *repartir* [2]) < *partir* R, G; *refresh* < *refreschir* [3]) < *fresche*, adj. (by the side of *refrescher*, [4]) *refreschier* < *refrescāre*), G, R; *sally* < *saillir*, [5]) R, G; *sort* < *sortir*, [6]) R; *sue* < *suir* [7]) (by the side of Agn. *suer*), [8]) *sevir* = *suivre* < *sequere*, G, L; (*missue*†, legal term < the prec.); *pursue* [9]) < *porsuir*, *poursuivir*, *poursuir* (beside Agn. *pursuer*, [10]) *poursuier*, *poursuiver*) or *poursuivre*, *poursevre*, G, L; *vest* < *vestir*, [11]) R; *divest* < *desvestir*, [12]) R.

Vitel., l. 12 — *departeþ*, ps. 3 sg.; — Ass. Mar., Univ. Cbr., l. 244. — *departe*, inf.; — 4 Me. geistl. Ged., No. 2 l. 38 — *departing*, vbl. sbs. 13th: A. R., p. 250 — *departunge*, vbl. sbs.

[1]) R., p. 110, says *departir* decided for the simple form, *departeiz*: 1172—6. — *Ben. D. de Norm.*, l. 13216, etc., by the side of *departissent*, 1207—8. G. gives an ext. form as late as 1387—94; — *departist*: *J. d'Arras*, *Melusine*, Bibl. Elz., p. 71.

[2]) R., p. 110, says *repartir* soon began to become ext. The latest simple form given by G. is *repartent*: 14—2/2 — *E. Deschamps*, *Poés.*, Richel. 840, f° 491ª.

[3]) *refreschist*: 1200. — *Marie de F.*, *Lais*, *Dous Amanz*, Warnke, l. 147.

[4]) *refreschie*: 12—3/4. — *Ben. Troie*, MS. Naples, p. 7ª.

[5]) *Saillir* "hat die reine Bildung nur noch als *terme d'architecture* gerettet." — R., p. 104. But simple forms exist as late as the 16th c.: cf. G. *sault* = '*sortir*', *Rousier d. Dames*, *Poes. fr. d. XV et XVI* s., V p. 189. *saillot*: 1422—29. — *Cousinot*, *Chron. de la Pac.*, Ch. XXIX, Vallet.

[6]) R., p. 113, says *sortir* is prevailingly ext. To R.'s instances of the simple form, might be added the following from G.: *sortent*. Guiot, *Bible*, 919.

[7]) G.'s instances are simple; those of L., ext.

[8]) *suer*: *Stat. de Henri VI an II*, Impr. Goth. Bibl. Louvre; Letter of Edw. III *Avesb.* p. 113.

[9]) Ab. 1400: P. P., C, Corp. Chr., Vesp., and Phillipps, XVIII l. 167. — *porsuede*, pt. 3 sg. (14)15: Sermo in Festo Corp. Chr., Harl., l. 30 — *pursued*, pt. 3 sg.

[10]) *poursuiees* = '*garner*', '*munir*' ("les ... ahances de III roies poursuiees et semenciees de bles"): 1356. — *Reg. du Chap. de S. J. de Jer.* Arch. MM. 28 f°. v°.

[11]) Rare occurrences of inchoative forms are met with in early monuments. From *Watriquet* (1319—29) Risop gives *vestis* (p. 158, 100) beside *vest* (p. 162, 212), etc.

[12]) According to R. a few inchoative forms survived. Simple forms occur as early as the first half of the 14th c. — *davestent*: 1337, coll. de Lorr., III, f°42.

c) The French Extended Forms give Extended Verbs in English; the Simple Forms do not reproduce themselves.

accomplish < *acomplir* [1]) (*complish* = 'accomplish'. Aphetic of *accomplish.* For *complish* = 'fill up', cf. p. 87) R.

Except *sue* and *pursue* (which, being legal terms, were derived most likely from the Agn. *-er* by-forms) and *refresh* (where dissimilation probably took place, as in the case of *blanch*, etc. Cf. § 2 *γ* of this chapter.) the simple forms have the analogical support of corresponding nouns or closely related verbs, as follows: *asserve* had the support of *serve*; *sort* of *assort* (< Fr. *assorter.* In several meanings, *sort* is the aphetic form of *assort.*), *resort* (= 'to return', 'resort' < Fr. *resortir*), and *consort* (Origin, obscure. In its meaning "sort together, associate in a common lot", *consort* "cannot be separated from the vb. *sort*". *N. E. D.*); *march*, *sally*, and *part* with its compounds had the support of the corresponding nouns: *march* < Fr. *marche*, fem.; *sally* < Fr. *saillie* < *saillir*; and *part* < Ags. *part* < Lat. *pars*, *partem.* *Convert* and *pervert* developed corresponding nouns that may have reacted on the parent forms and their compounds. The ext. forms of *boillir* were exceptional; those of *cull*, *coil* and of *cover* were dialectical.

4. Conclusion.

Let us return, now, to the first question put at the beginning of this investigation: viz., are the Engl. forms of *-ir* verbs determined by their Fr. forms at the time of transplantation, or are these verbs taken over either as simple or as extended verbs regardless of their previous condition in French?

We have seen that the Fr. simple verbs always remain simple in English (Class 1): that while the great body of Fr. ext. verbs remain ext. in English (Cl. 2 a *α*), there are some that become simple (Cl. 2 a *β*), and there are others that give off simple forms beside the ext. ones (Cl. 2 a *γ*); that when the Fr. ext. verbs have *-er* variants, these latter give off derivatives simple in form, beside those of the ext. originals (Cl. 2 b *α*) — though

[1]) 'Zu aller Zeiten gemischten Bildung'. R., p. 116.

not always (Cl. 2 b β), — and in some instances reproduce themselves where the ext. originals do not (Cl. 2 b γ); that where the Fr. verbs have both simple and ext. forms, both forms reproduce themselves in some instances (Cl. 3 a) and only the simple forms in others (Cl. 3 b).

Especially noteworthy are the vbs. of classes 2 a β and 2 a γ, 2 b α and 2 b γ, and 3. They seem to point to an Engl. preference for the simple over the ext. form. It might be considered conclusive, in this respect, that while all the simple verbs remain simple, some ext. verbs become simple (Cl. 2 a β), and others seem in the process of becoming simple (Cl. 2 a γ); that the *-er* variant — equivalent to the simple form, in so far as it is non-suffixed — not only gives off derivatives beside those of the ext. original (Cl. 2 b α); but that these forms survive where those of the ext. original do not (Cl. 2 b γ); that many Fr. vbs. having both simple and ext. forms give off simple forms only (Cl. 3 b), whereas none give off ext. forms only. The behavior of these verbs would decisively indicate an Engl. leveling in favor of the simple over the ext. form were it not for the fact that except for a comparatively insignificant number of verbs (Cl. 2 a β) these simple forms survive by analogy to corresponding nouns and adjectives and to closely related non-suffixed verbs, — or, in a few cases, by a process akin to dissimilation.

We can say, therefore, that the *-ir* verbs do not enter English in a body either as simple or as ext. verbs; but that the Engl. form of each verb is determined by its Fr. form.

II. Analogies.

1. *-IR* Derivatives that take the Suffix *-ize* (written also *-ise*) < Med. Lat. *-izare* < Gr. *-ιζειν*.

The following *-ir* derivatives take the suffix *-ize*, by analogy to a large and ever increasing class of words that it dominates. This suffix, of Greek origin, was latinized as early as the 3rd c. by writers on ecclesiastical and philosophical subjects. Eventually

it was established as the normal form for the latinizing of Gr. verbs or the formation of verbs upon Gr. analogies. In modern languages the use has been extended to the formation of verbs from Lat. nouns and adjectives. This practice probably began in French. There the suffix has become *-ise-r*, in Gr. and in Lat. derivatives alike. The Engl. writing *-ise* may go back on the Fr. *-ise-r* or it may be an anglicized writing of the Lat. *-ize*, originating in the use of the symbol *s* for both the voiced and the voiceless spirants.

a) Derivatives of Fr. Verbs with Extended Forms.

advertize, -ise [1]) < *avertir*? < *advertere* [2]) (*preadvertise* < the prec.); *aggrandize, -ise* < *aggrandir* (*engrandise* † < the prec.); *amortize, -ise* = 'aleniate in mortmain', < *amortir* [3]) (*mortise* †, aphetic of the prec.); *divertize* † = 'divert' < *divertir*; *anientize* (by the side of *anientish* and *aniente*) < *anientir*; *ennoblize* † [4]) (by the side of *ennoblish*) and *ennoble*. *Noblish*, aphetic of *ennoblish*) < *ennoblir*; *fretize* † = 'to chill', 'benumb' (by the side of *fretish*), < *fre(i)dir* < *freid*.

b) Derivatives of Simple Fr. Verbs.

lapise † = 'to yelp' < *glapir*; *nuise* [5]) = 'do harm' < *nuisir*.

2. *-ER* Derivatives that take the Suffix *-ish*.

affamish † < *afamer*; *famish* [6]) < *famer*; *astonish* beside *astonen* [7]) < *estoner* < *extonāre* < *ex* + *tonāre* = 'thunder'; *distin-*

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[1]) The form of the suffix is probably due to the substantive *advertisement*.

[2]) According to the *N. E. D. advertise* = 'call another's attention to something' was an alternate form of *advert* = 'turn ones attention to something', < *avertir* < *advertēre*. The prefix of *advertise* and *advert* indicates that the Lat. verb is the source of both verbs. *Avertir* is the source of the Engl. *avert*.

[3]) *amortize* may also come from Med. Lat. **amortizare*; *amortize*, from the Fr. *amortiser* < **amortizare*.

[4]) Used only in the passive.

[5]) Bef. 1350: Wm. of Sh., p. 20 l. 530, p. 34 l. 936 — *nusy*, inf.

[6]) *famish* may also come from the substantive *fame*.

[7]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 190 l. 17 — *a-stoned*, p. p.

guish beside *distingue* < *distinguer* (*predistinguish* < the prec.); *emperish, imperish*[1]) beside M. E. *empeiren* and Mod. Engl. *impair* < *emp(e)irer*; *esclavish*† < *esclaver*; *extinguish* beside *exstingue* < *extinguer*; *perfurmis, perfourmys*[2]) = 'carry out completely' < A. F. and O. F. *par, — perfurmer — former*; *publish*[3]) < *publier* (*republish* < the prec.); *marish*[4]) = 'marry' < *marier*.

3. Verbs that change the Stem-ending to *-ish* by Analogy to the Suffix-ending of the Extended Verbs.

a) Stems ending in *-ch*.

rubrish (beside *rubric*) < *rubricher*; *skirmish* (beside *skirmen*† < *escremir* or *escrimer*) < *escarmoucher* < *escarmouche*.

b) Stems ending in *-g*.

dammish, Scotch, = 'shun' < *damagier, -ac(h)ier*; *obliesh*[5]) = 'oblige' < *obliger*.

c) Stems ending in *-s*.

discomfis — ish < *desconfis*, — pres. stem of *fire* < *ficere*; *minish* < *menuiser* < *minutiare*; *imminish*† (by the side of *emmenwe*) < *emmenuiser*; *diminish* < *minish* + *diminue* < *diminuer* < *diminuere*; *patish* (by the side of *patise*) = 'stipulate' < *patiser* < *patis* < Lat. *pactis* = 'a pact'.

d) Stems ending in *-st*.

monish < *monester* (*premonish* < the prec. and *remonish* <

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[1]) On the erroneous analogy of words like *embellish*, — afterwards, perhaps, associated with *perish*.

[2]) A 16th c. variant of *perform*, made by analogy to the more frequent *perfurnish*, which had the same meaning, — i. e., 'carry out completely'. Already in O. F., *parfourmer* had taken this meaning from *parfournir*. N. E. D.

[3]) Ab. 1400: P. P., C, Corp. Chr. Cbr., Phillipps, Vesp., XIII l. 38 — *publisshe*, imper. 2 sg. (14—2/2)15: C. M., Galba, l. 29540 — *poplist*, pt. 3 sg.

[4]) 1340: Ayenb., p. 48 — *ymarissed*, vbl. adj.

[5]) (14—2/2)15: 12 Profits, p. 55 — *oblisshid*, p. p.; Castel of L., Egtn., l. 44 — *oblischid*, p. p.; Nordengl. Legendensmmlg., Harl., p. 39 l. 424 — *obliste*, p. p.

monish); *admonish*[1]) (by the side of *amonesten*)[2]) < *admonester* (*disadmonish* = 'dissuade', < the prec.; *preadmonish* < *admonish*).

4. Ext. Verbs formed on Engl. Verbs and Substantives.

a) On Engl. Verbs.

reuesh[3]) < *revest*;[4]) *warnish*[5]) = 'warn' < Ags. *wearn*[6]) + *an*.

b) On Engl. Substantives.

embrutish† < *brute*; *encrampish* < *cramp*;[7]) *relish* = 'to taste' < *relish*, later form of *reles*† < O. F. *reles*, var. of *relais* = 'remainder', < *relaisser* = 'leave behind' (*disrelish* < *relish*, sbs. < *relish*, vb.); *relish* = 'project out'†, 'make shoulders of' < *relish* < O. F. *relais*; *relish* = 'sing' < *relish* <?

Appendix to Part Second.

French Originals, Simple or Extended?

The author's sources of information concerning the extended or nonextended nature of a verb in French did not include the following verbs:

a) Simple Verbs.

aquilen (Stratmann-Bradley) = 'receive', < *a(n)quillir*; *amesen*[8]) (S-B) = 'appease' < *amesir*; *baste* < *ba(s)tir* < O. H. G.

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[1]) 1360: R. of B., Med., Harl., 6 l. 169 — *monashyng*, vbl. sbs.

[2]) 1340: Ayenb., p. 101, etc. — *amonesteþ*, ps. 3 sg.

[3]) 14—2/2: L. F. M. B., l. 34 — *reuysht*, p. p.

[4]) *revish* is a back formation of *revest*, the *t* being apprehended as a participial ending.

[5]) 14—1/2: C. M., Vesp., l. 4591 — *warnist*, p. p.; l. 15611 — *warnis*, ps. 1 sg.

[6]) The analogy of *warnish*, *garnish* probably caused *wearnian* to take the *-ish* suffix.

[7]) The *N. E. D.* suggests the analogical working of *cherish*. Why *cherish*?

[8]) (14—2/2)15; Castel of L., Egtn., l. 277 — *amesed*, p. p.

bestan; *blet* = 'grow plump', like an over-ripe pear < *blettir*; *bruyle, broil* < *bruillir*;[1]) *combure* = 'burn up' < *comburir*; *disappear* < **disparir*, by-form of *disparaitre*; *moisten* < *moistir*; *resarce* † = 'patch up' < *resarcir*; *resile* < *resilir*; *saint*[2]) = 'sanctify' < *saintir* < *saint*, sbs.; *scorn*[3]) < *escarnir* < O. H. G. *skirna*; *seize*[4]) = 'possess' < Anglo-Fr. *disseisir* = 'take by force' < *saisir*; *disseize, -ise* = 'put out of possession', Anglo-Fr. *dis-seisir*; (*redisseize*[5]) = 'disseize a second time' < the prec.); *skirmen*[6]) = 'to skirmish' < *escremir*;[7]) *squarin* (S-B) < *esquarir*; *squat* < *esquatir*; *stutin* (S-B) < *estoutir*; *warrant*[8]) < *warantir*.

b) Extended Verbs.

disherish < Anglo-Fr. **disherir*; *vanish*[9]) < **vanir*.

Verbs of doubtful origin.

burnish, barnish = 'grow plump'; *wampish*, Scotch, = 'toss about'.

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[1]) *broil* can come also from Mod. Fr. *bruler*.

[2]) 13th.: A. R., l. 350 — *isonted*, p. p.

[3]) 1340: Ayenb., p. 22 — *scorneþ*, ps. 3 sg.; p. 211 — *scornj*, inf.

[4]) 1290: E. S-E. Legdy., p. 126 l. 705 — *saisi*, inf. 13—10/10: Songs of Harl. 2253, p. 99 l. 16 — *saisede*, pt. 3 sg.

[5]) Probably after an Anglo-Fr. **redisseisir*.

[6]) 13th.: A. R., l. 212 — *skirmen*, inf.; l. 212 — *skirmed*, imper. 2 pl. 13—2/2: Laʒ., A., l. 8144 — *scurmen*, inf.; l. 8406 — *skirmden*, ps. 3 pl.

[7]) *skirmen* can come also from *escrimer*.

[8]) 14—2/2: 7 Sages, Auch., l. 379 — *waranti*, inf. 14th.: K. Alis., l. 2132 — *warante*, inf. 1370: Charter, Abbey of the H. Ghost, Laud and Vern., l. 340 — *waraunted*, p. p.

[9]) 14—1/2: C. M. Vesp., Cott. insert. *404, p. 990 — *vanisth*, pt. 3 sg.

Word Register.

Heavy type is used for the references to Part II, as an aid in finding out quickly the extended or non-extended nature of the French and English verbs that come with in the scope of this in vestigation.

Cursive type is used for foreign words.

abash 12. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 27. 28, and note 1. 33. 35. 37. 65. 67. 68. 80, and note 1. 81.
ab(a)uber 82, and note 5.
abaubir 82, and note 4.
abave 82.
abolir 77.
abolish 77.
abstain 74, and note 2.
accoil† (= 'gather') 90.
accomplice (variant: 'accomplish') 71, and note 2.
accomplir 92, and note 1.
accomplisce 59.
accomplish 53. 92.
accourir 75.
accoward 74.
accouardir 74.
accueiller 90.
accueillir, accoillir 90.
accur(re)† (= 'run to', 'run together', 'meet') 74.
achatece 59. 60.
achever 82.
achieve 82. 83.
a(d)dulce†, *a(d)doulce*† (= 'sweeten', 'soothe') 85.
a(d)doulcir 85.
admonester 96.
admonish 18. 96, and note 1.
adolesco (Lat.) 5.
adulcer 85, and note 9.
advertise, -ize 51, note 1. 94, and note 1.
afamer 94.
afeblier (variant: '*afeblir*') 81, and note 3.
afeblir 81, and note 2.
aferir 89, and note 1.
affamish† 94.
affeeble† (variant of 'affeeblish') 81.
affeeblish† (= 'enfeeble') 81.
affeir† (Northern variant of 'affere') 89.
affere† (variant: 'effere' = 'belong to') 89.

aggrandir **94**.
aggrandize, -ise **94**.
ambush (vb.) **65**.
ambush (sbs.) **65**.
amesen (= 'appease') **96**.
amesir **96**.
amortir **94**, and note 3.
amonesten **96**, and note 2.
amortise, -ize (= 'aleniate in mortmain') **51**, note **1**. **94**.
amortiser 51, note 1. **92**, note 3.
anguish (sbs.) **68**. 70.
anguish (vb.) 8, note 2. 18. 53. **68**.
anguisse **68**. 70.
anguissier 53. **68**.
aniente† (variant of 'anientish') **82**, and note 2. 94.
anienter **82**, and note 3.
anientir **82**, and note 1. 94.
anientish (= 'bring to nought') 22. 53. **81**, and note 6. 94.
anientize (variant of 'anientish') **94**.
aporteche 59.
a(n)quillir **96**.
aplanir **85**.
appall **78**, and note 12. **79**.
appal(l)ir **78**.
appertain **74**.
appartenir **74**.
applaud **78**. **79**.
applaudir **78**.
aquilen (= 'receive') **96**.
ash 36. 42, note 1. 43. 44. 45, note 5. 50.
ask 42, note 7.
assail **75**, and note 1.
assailir **75**.
assent **76**.
asserve† (= 'serve', 'deserve') **89**, and note 3. 92.
asserver **89**, and note 5.
asservir **89**, and note 4.
assort **92**.
assorter **92**.
astenir **74**.
astonen (variant of 'astonish') **94**, and note 7.
astonish **94**.
averice **71**, and note 2.
avert **89**.
avertir **51**, note 1. **89**, and note 6. 94.
aviler (= 'make vile') **85**, and note 10. 87.
aviler **85**, and note 11.
avilir **85**, and note 12.
babish **33**, note 1.
bail (= 'deliver in trust') **85**, 86.
bai(l)lier, *bai(l)ler* **85**, and note 13.
baillir **85**, and note 13.
banish 20. **77**, and note 6.
ban(n)ir **77**.
bashful 65.
baste **96**.
ba(s)tir **96**.
baubish (= 'astonish') **82**.
betraish† (variant of 'betray') 25. 26. 35. 53. **80**, and note 12. 81.
betray **80**, and note 13. 81.
bishop 31, and notes 1, 3. 32. 37, note 1.
bla(i)smer, *ble(s)mer* **84**, and note 6.
blai(s)mir, *ble(s)mir* **84**, and note 5.
blanch (variant of 'blench') **79**, and note 1.
blanchir **79**.
bland† (variant of 'blandish') **82**, and note 8. 83.
blander **82**, and note 9.
blandir **82**, and note 7.
blandish 16. 20. 53. **82**, and note 6. 83.
blank (= 'whiten', 'render void', 'frustrate') **79**.
blanquir (O. N. F.) **79**, and note 2.
blemish 12. 17. 22. 24. **84**, and note 4.
blench (variant of 'blemish') **84**, and note 7.
bless 10. 31, note 3. 41, note 6. 45, notes 3, 4. 47, note 6. 48, note 8. 56.

blet (= 'grow plump') **97.**
blettir **97.**
boil **89**, and note 12.
boillir **89**, and note 13. 92.
bonder, *bondier* **85**, and note 14.
bondir **85**, and note 15.
bound (= 'to recoil') **85.** 86, and note 10.[1]
bouteche 60.
branch 8. note 2.
brander **84**, and note 3.
brandir **84**, and note 2.
brandish 16. 17. 52. 53. **84**, and note 1.
broil **97.**
bro(i)sse = 'brushwood' 65. **66.** 69.
brosser (= 'rush with force') **69.** 70.
bruillir **97**, and note 1.
brush (= 'brushwood') 65. **66.** 69. 70.
brush (= 'a sweeping utensil') 65. **66.**
brush (= 'rush with force') **69.** 70.
buissiel 65. **68**, note 1.
burnen† (variant of 'burnish') **80.** 81.
burnir, *brunir* **80.**
burnish 12. 17. 18. 24. 25. 26. 27. 33 **80**, and note 2.
burnish, barnish (= 'grow plump') **97.**
bushel 65. **68**, note 1.
caisse 65. **67.** 68.
cash 65. **67.** 70.
cashier 65, **69**, 70.
casse **67.** 68.
casser **69.** 70.
cast **45**, note 5.
chastir **51**, note 1.
chastise **51**, note 1.
cherice (variant: 'cherish') **71**, and note 2.
cherir **77.**
cherish 11. 12. 17. 18. 19. 21. 22. 23. 25. 52. 53. **77**, and note 8.
cheve (variant of 'chevish') **82**, and note 12. 83.
chever **82**, and note 13.
chevice (variant of 'chevish') **71**, note 1.
chevir **82**, and note 11.
chevish† (= 'attain an end') **82**, and note 10.
combure (= 'burn up') **97.**
comburir **97.**
compart **90.**
compartir **90.**
comple† (variant of 'accomplish') **87.**
compler **87**, and note 4.
complir **87**, and note 3.
compliscent 59.
complish† (= 'fill up', 'fill') **87**, and notes 1, 2. 92.
complish (= 'accomplish') **92.**
conichet 59.
confiscent 59.
consent **76**, and note 4.
consentir, *cunsentir* **76.**
consort **92.**
contain **74**, and note 3.
contenir **74.**
contravene **75.**
contravenir **75.**
convainquir **78.**
convanquish (= 'vanquish') **78.**
convene **75.**
convenir **75.**
convert **89**, and note 7. 92.
convertir **89**, and note 8.
co(u)vrer **90**, and note 6.
co(u)vrir **90**, and note 5.
cover **90**, and note 4. 92.
cramper **84**, and note 9.
crampir **84.**
crampish† (= 'become cramped') **84**, and note 8.
cresco (Lat.) 5.
cruissir, *croissir* 65. **67.** 68. **77**, and note 5.
crush 36. 46, note 2. 65. **67.** **77**, and note 4.
cuellir, *coillir* **90**, and note 2.

cuish 69.
cuissin 65. 67. 68.
cull, coil **90**, and note 1. 92.
cuoellier, cueiller **90**, and note 3.
cushion 65, **67**.
damagier, -ac(h)ier **95**.
Damascus 42, note 5.
dammish (Scotch. = 'shun') **95**.
Danish 48, note 1.
dash 36. 37. 46. 47.
defail (= 'fail') **75**, and note 8.
défaillir **75**.
delinquer **84**, and note 11.
delinquir **84**.
delinquish **84**, and note 10.
demolir **77**.
demolish **77**.
depart **90**, and note 11.
departir **91**, and note 1.
descover **75**, and note 4.
descovrir **75**.
deserve **76**, and note 7.
deservir **76**.
desfournir **77**.
desgarnir **77**.
desobeir **79**.
desperir **78**.
desvestir **91**, and note 12.
detain **74**.
detener **74**, and note 4.
detenir **74**.
diminish **95**.
diminue (variant of 'diminish') **95**.
diminuer **95**.
disadmonish (= 'dissuade') **96**.
disappear **97**.
discomfish **95**.
discover 42, note 2. **75**, and note 3.
disdeserve **76**.
disfurnish **77**.
disgarnish **77**.
dish 31. 36.
disherir* (Anglo-Fr.) **97.
disherish **97**.
disobey **79**.
disparaitre **97**.
disparir* **97.
disperish† (= 'perish') **78**.
displenish (Scotch. = 'disfurnish') **78**.
disrelish **96**.
disseisir (Anglo-Fr.) **97**.
disseize (= 'put out of possession') **97**.
dissent **76**.
distingue (variant of 'distinguish') **95**.
distinguer **95**.
distinguish **94**.
divert **89**.
divertir **89**, **94**.
divertise† (= 'divert') **94**.
divest **91**.
douce† (= 'sweeten', aphetic of a(d)douce') **85**, **87**.
effere† (variant: 'affere' = 'to belong to') **89**.
effeir† (Northern variant of 'effere') **89**.
eiscōn (O.H.G.) 9.
elfish 38, note 1.
embellir **77**.
embellish 18. 52. 53. **77**, and note 9.
emboil **90**.
embrown (= 'darken') **86**.
embruner **86**, and note 2.
embrunir **86**, and note 3.
embrutish† **96**.
embuissier **65**.
embuscher (= 'to ambush') **65**.
embuscher (= '*embuissier*') **65**.
emmenuiser **95**.
emmenwe (variant of 'imminish') **95**.
empeiren (= 'impair') **95**.
emp(e)rier **95**.
emperish (variant: 'imperish') **95**, and note 1.
empover† (variant: 'impover') **82**.
empov(e)rer **82**, and note 14.
empov(e)rir **82**.

empoverish (variant: 'impoverish') 82, 83.
encover 90.
encrampish 53. 96, and note 7.
endolorir 79.
endolour 79.
endoulcir 79.
endulce † (= 'sweeten', 'perfume') 79.
enfarce (= 'stuff with force meat') 79.
enfarsir 79.
enfeblier (= '*enfeblir*') 81, and note 5.
enfeblir 81, and note 4.
enfeeble 81.
enfeeblish † (= 'enfeeble') 81.
enflourish 78.
Englisc (A-S.) 7. 32, note 3. 58.
English 29. 32, note 3. 33, note 1. 34. 35, and note 5. 36, and note 2. 37. 38. 40. 41, notes 2, 3. 43, note 2. 46. 47, note 1. 48, and note 1. 58.
engrandise †, -ize 94.
enhard † 83.
enhardier 83, and note 6.
enjoer, enjoier 86, and note 4.
enjoir 86, and note 5.
enjoish 53.
enjoy 86.
ennoble 80. 81. 94.
ennoblir 80. 94.
ennoblish † (variant of 'ennoble') 80. 94.
ennoblize † 94, and note 4.
enrich 86, 87.
enricher 86, and note 6.
enrichir 86.
ensent (= 'assent', 'consent') 76, and note 5.
entertain 74.
entretenir 74.
envahish (= 'invade') 80.
envahir 80.
envaye 80. 81.
e(s)bair 65. 67. 80.
esbay † (variant of 'abash') 80. 81.
escape 32, note 1. 34, note 1. 35, note 1. 36, note 2. 41, note 6. 42, note 2. 48, note 8.
escarmoucher 95.
escarnir 97.
eschel 36, note 2. 47, note 6.
esclachier (= 'break to pieces') 66.
esclare † (variant of 'esclarish') 82.
esclarer (= '*eclairer*') 82, and note 15.
esclarir (= '*eclairer*') 82, and note 15.
esclarish † (= 'clear up') 82.
esclaver 95.
esclavish 95.
escremir 95. 97, and note 7.
escrimer 95. 97, note 7.
eslarge † 82.
eslarger 82, and note 16.
eslargir 82.
eslargish † 82.
esmeutir 79.
esquarir 97.
esquatir 97.
estable † (variant of 'establish') 80, 81.
establir 80.
establish 80.
estoner 94.
estoutir 97.
Exeter 42, note 7.
explenish 78.
expolish (= 'polish exquisitely') 78.
extingue (variant of 'extinguish') 95.
extinguer 95.
extinguish 95.
ἡβάσκω 5.
fail 75, and note 7.
faillir 75.
famer 94.
famish 94, and note 6.
farsir 79.
farsy, farce (= 'stuff in cooking', 'stuff') 79.
favorer 84, and note 13.
favorir 84, and note 12.
favorish (= 'to favor') 84.

febloier **84.**
feeblish† **84.**
fere† (aphetic of 'affere' **89**).
fiercely **42**, note 5.
fine† (variant of 'finish') **83**, and note 1.
finer **83**, and note 2.
finir 70, 82.
finish 9, note 1. 17. **82**, and note 17. 84.
fish 7. 31, and note 2. 33. 35, and notes 3, 4. 38, note 3. 39. 40. 42, notes 3, 6. 46, and note 3. 47. 48, notes 4, 6, 7.
fisher 31. 48, note 6.
fishing 48, note 6.
flanch (= 'to spread out') **79**.
flanchir **79**.
flange (= 'flanch') **79**.
flangir (variant of *flanchir*) **79**.
flecche† (= 'to bend') **79**, and note 3.
flechir **79**.
flesh 28, note 1. 30. 31, and notes 1, 2. 34. 35, note 4. 39. 42, note 3. 45. 47. 48, notes 3, 4, 5, 6.
fleshly 35, note 4. 45.
flinch (= 'flecche') **79**.
flinchir, flenchir **79**.
florir **78**.
flourish 11. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 27. 51. 53. **78**, and note 1.
foiblir, feblir **84**, and note 14.
forban† (='banish') **80**, and note 4. 81.
for-banish† (= 'banish') 27. **80**, and note 3.
forbannir **80**.
fornir, furnir **80**.
forscōn (O.H.G.) 4.
fouilleche 60.
fourbir **78**.
fourniece 59.
Frankish 36, note 2. 37. 38, note 1.
frash, frush 36, and note 1. 46. 47. 65. 68.
freidir, froidir **84**, and note 15. 94.
fremir **78**.
fremish† (= 'waver') **78**.
fretish† (= 'be chilled') **84**. 94.
fretize† (= 'to chill', 'benumb') **94**.
froidier **85**, and note 1.
fruissier 65. 68.
fresh 31, note 1. 34. 36. 37. 38. 42. 48, note 4. 50.
furbish 21. **78**, and note 3.
furney† (variant of 'furnish') **80**, and note 5. 81.
furnish 53. **80**.
gare! (= 'take care!') **83**, and note 4.
garer **83**.
garir, warir 71, note 2. **83**.
garnir (variant: *warnir*) **81**.
garnish (variant: 'warnish') 18. 53. **80**, and note 15.
garscher = *garser* 65. **66**.
garser = 'to cut' **66**.
gash (sbs.) **65**.
γενειάσκω 5.
γεροάσκω 5.
geteche 60.
gladish† (= 'to bark') **78**.
glapir **94**.
glatir **78**.
glotir **90**.
glut **90**.
goyscent 59.
Greekish 41, note 2. 48, note 1.
groin† (= 'to grunt') **75**, and note 5.
gron(h)er **75**, and note 6.
gron(h)ir **75**.
g(u)arir (variant: *warir*) **83**.
g(u)arish† (variant: 'warish'. = 'to cure') **83**.
guenchier **86**, and note 9.
guenchir **86**.
guerpe (variant of 'guerpish') **87**.
guerpir **87**.
guerpish (= 'to abandon') **87**.

guess (vb.) 34, note 1.
hardir 83.
hardiss† (= 'embolden') 14. 83, and note 5.
haunch 8, note 2.
henner 86, and note 7.
hennir 87.
hinny (= 'to neigh') 86, 87.
honir 78.
honish (= 'to disgrace') 18. 19. 23. 27. 53. 78, and note 4.
ichâti (Skt.) 4.
imminish† 95.
impair 95.
imperish (variant: 'emperish'. = 'impair') 95, and note 1.
impover† (variant: 'empover') 82.
impoverish (variant: 'empoverish') 82.
ingarnish 81.
ingemischans 59.
interfarce (= 'stuff in between') 79.
interfere 89.
interpolish (= 'polish here and there') 78.
Irish 33, note 1.
iscent 59.
ish† (= 'go out') 65. 67. 68. 77, and note 2.
issir 67. 68. 77, and note 3.
joir 87, and note 8.
joiss (= 'rejoice', 'enjoy') 14. 15. 51. 87, and note 6.
joy (variant of 'joiss') 87, and note 7.
Judewisshe 37, note 1.
Judewisske 37, note 1.
Judisskenn 37, note 1.
lache = *lacet* 65.
lacher 65.
lâchier 65.
laisse 65.
languir 78.
languish 15. 24. 25. 78, and note 5.
lascher = *lâcher* 65.
lapise† (= 'to yelp') 94.
lash (= 'a blow') 36. 65.
lash (= 'to strike') 46. 47.
lash (= 'to move swiftly') 65.
lass 10. 56.
leash 47.
ledish 38, note 1.
lesson 10.
lest (= 'to permit') 45, note 5.
lush 36.
maintain 74, and note 5.
maintainir 74.
mannish 33, note 1. 37, note 1. 41, note 2.
march (= 'border upon') 90, and note 7. 92.
marchalsye 36, note 2.
marchir 90, and note 8.
marechal 60.
marier 95.
marish (= 'marry') 13. 14. 17. 95, and note 4.
mar(i)ssal 39. 60, and note 5.
marshal 36, note 2. 39. 40. 48, note 8.
meche 59.
mennisc (A-S.) 7. 37, note 1.
menniscleȝȝe 37, note 1.
menniscnesse 37, note 1.
menuiser 95.
mespartir 91.
messervir 76.
mesureche 59.
minish 95.
misconvert† 89.
misdepart† (= 'to distribute unfairly') 91.
misdeserve 76.
misserve 76, and note 8.
missue† 91.
moisten 97.
moistir 97.
monester 95.
monish 95.

mortise † (aphetic of 'amortise, -ize') **94**.
munir **78**.
munish † (= 'fortify') **78**.
mute (= 'pass excrement'. Said of birds.) **79**.
nesh (adj.) 31, note 1. **34**. **45**, and note 4. **47**.
noblish **94**.
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Life.

I was born in Baltimore, in 1881. For my primary education I attended Dr. Deichmann's "Gymnasium School" and Mr. Marston's "University School for Boys". I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the Johns Hopkins University, in 1901. The year succeeding graduation I devoted to laboratory courses, in the expectation of taking up medicine. In the fall of 1902 I entered the English Seminary. The following summer I went to Germany, where I spent the next two academic years in the study of English, one each at the Universities of Heidelberg and Munich. I rejoined the English Seminary at Johns Hopkins, in the fall of 1905, and remained in it until the close of the semester ending in January 1908. From that time until the fall of 1909, when I entered upon my duties as Associate Professor of English in the University of North Carolina, I devoted my energies entirely to preparing my dissertation. To the same end I spent the summers of 1909, 1910, and 1911 at the library of the University of Heidelberg. It was in the fall of the last named year that I passed the examination for the Doctorate at that University. In the course of my studies I have been "active" in the seminaries of Professors Bright, Braune, Ehrismann, Hoops, Schick and Wood, and I have taken courses also under Professors Armstrong, Bloomfield, Brush, von der Leyen, Neumann, Ogden, Paul, Ramsay, Schneegans, and Sieper. I desire to express here my sincere gratitude for the influence that contact with my instructors has exerted upon my life.

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